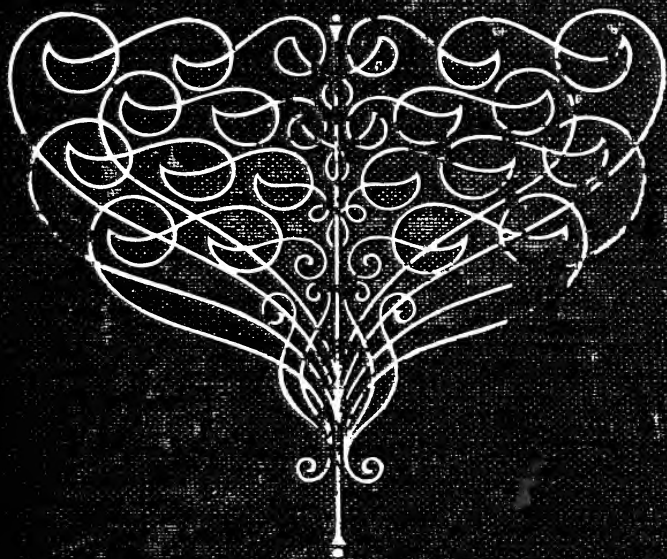



GREAT MASTERS IN PAINTING & SCULPTURE



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The Great Masters
in Painting and Sculpture
Edited by G. C. Williamson

RAPHAEL

THE GREAT MASTERS IN PAINTING AND SCULPTURE.

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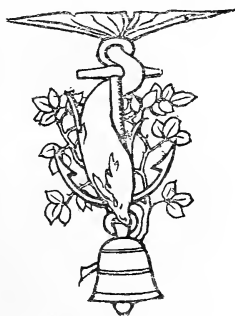
1555. Palazzo, Florence.

Madonna del Gran' Duca.

RAPHAEL

BY

HENRY STRACHEY



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1911

RAPHAEL

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PREFACE

IN the following pages devoted to the Life of Raphael, I can make no claim to original research. My chief authorities have been Messrs Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Passavant, Müntz, Károly, and the admirable notes in Messrs Blashfield and Hopkins' edition of Vasari's Lives. The gossiping Italian, though inaccurate in many details, is the only source of our knowledge of the man, and to his Life we must look for any real picture of Raphael. But we must always remember that Vasari was not a personal friend of Raphael, as he was of Michelangelo, and he got his information only at second hand.

In the pages devoted to the discussion of the *Art* of Raphael, I have allowed myself to be influenced as far as possible only by the pictures. I have tried always to realise them, not as historical monuments, but as triumphs of the art of painting. Such analysis as I have attempted is of the artistic motives. For instance, it has always seemed to me much more interesting to study Raphael's drawings with a view to following the problems of form, of composition, and of sentiment, with which the painter was interested at the time, than to try to discover, by some chance indication, in what year a given work was begun, or whether some picture preceded or followed some other. I therefore beg the reader to forgo any desire for history in this little

book ; this he will find accumulated in the most masterly way in the "Raphael" of Crowe and Cavalcaselle : for me to attempt to compete in this field with this or many other books would have been useless. I shall, therefore, only give so much of the biography of the painter as is needed to make the study of his art coherent.

The list of pictures does not claim to include all the works ascribed to Raphael, but I have admitted some which are doubtful, and some that are lost, for the sake of historical completeness. I must here acknowledge my great indebtedness to my friend Mrs Scoffern, to whose labours I am greatly indebted for help in the preparation of the list of works ; and also for her calling my attention to the interesting correspondence printed in the appendix.

SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL BOOKS ON RAPHAEL

- MÜNTZ, E.—Life. Also contributions to *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. Les historiens et les critiques de Raphael, 1483—1883 ; an exhaustive bibliography.
- CROWE AND CAVALCASELLE.—Life. Great mass of facts ; elaborate notes on present condition of pictures.
- PASSAVANT.—Life. French edition of 1860 best. Very full list of works.
- GRIMM, H.—Life. English translation. Boston, 1888.
- GRUYER.—Volumes treating separately of Raphael as portrait-painter, frescante, etc.
- CLÈMENT, C.—Michelange, L. da Vinci, et Raphael.
- DUPPA AND DE QUINCY.—“Michael Angelo and Raphael.” (Bohn).
- KÁROLY, KARL.—“Raphael’s Madonnas and other Great Pictures.” London, 1894.
- KNACKFUSS.—Raphael (translated). Very fully illustrated. London, 1899.
- VASARI’S Lives. Edited by E. H. and E. W. Blashfield and A. A. Hopkins. 4 vols. London, 1897. In this will be found a full list of books and articles on Raphael.
- CATALOGUE of the Raphael collection at Windsor. (To be found in the Print Room of the British Museum ; useful as a list of works with descriptions.)
- ROBINSON, J. C.—A critical account of the drawings of Michel Angelo and Raffaello in the University Galleries, Oxford, 1870.

1870

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RAPHAEL

INTRODUCTION

RAPHAEL, in his short life, may be said to have swept away the Middle Ages as far as art was concerned. The beginning of the great change was, of course, brought about by Leonardo, who finished the "Last Supper" in 1497, the first picture of the renaissance which had obtained complete freedom. In 1499 Michelangelo carved the "Pietà," in St. Peter's, in which this same perfect freedom from archaic forms is manifested. At this last date Raphael was working in his master's shop at the age of fifteen, and it cannot be said that he achieved the freedom already reached by the two elder artists till he went to Rome and began painting the "Camera della Segnatura," in 1508. But if Raphael was not a pioneer in freeing art from mediæval trammels, he was the painter who spread the light over the whole field of painting. Leonardo's strange and mysterious temperament limited the scope of his performance to a weird and beautiful land of dawn. Michelangelo's intense individuality and completely personal way of looking at things also restricted his range.

In their own directions, both Leonardo and Michelangelo penetrated farther into the heart of things than did Raphael. But the special significance and

wonder of the work of Raphael is the width of the field he illuminated. Leonardo dwelt in dim regions, penetrable only to the most poetical of imaginations; Michelangelo soared into the farthest regions of the spirit, leaving behind all accidents of place and time. Raphael, on the contrary, walks in the world, and, like the sun, shines everywhere; all humanity feeling his influence. If his spirit was not so penetrating as that of the other two, his sympathies were wider. To him the earth was a place filled with beautiful things, which had only to be brought together and to be touched by the talisman of his art to fall into harmony with each other and the rest of humanity. It seems as if Raphael was necessary for the spreading of the freedom first discovered by Leonardo and Michelangelo. Without his all-embracing humanity the light would have taken longer to penetrate.

How short a time this revolution took is to be studied by the following facts. In the year 1505 Raphael began a fresco at San Severo, at Perugia, while still under the immediate influence of Perugino. The fresco was not finished, and Raphael went to Rome. After his death the authorities of the church commissioned Perugino to finish the work, which he did in 1521. Thus the master finished the work of the dead pupil sixteen years after it had been begun. The style of the master had remained unchanged; but that of the pupil had travelled into regions where the older man could not follow. Perugino finished this fresco in the primitive style, natural to himself, although in these sixteen years the whole course of art had changed. The change had been so rapid, that men like Perugino, who had not the faculty of

quickly changing the fundamental principles of their style, were left high and dry, while a new generation was swept along by the stream running in an entirely new channel. No doubt the professors of the history of art can point to indications of the change, and show us the gradual development. But the fact remains, that before 1497, when Leonardo painted the "Last Supper," the general style of painting was formal and mediæval, while by 1512 the prevailing manner was free and unconstrained. This change was effected in fifteen years.

CHAPTER I

PERUGIA AND FLORENCE

RAPHAEL was born at Urbino, in Umbria, in the year 1483; his father, Giovanni Santi, was a painter employed by the churches in the country round. Besides being a painter, Giovanni was a man of some literary cultivation, having written a chronicle celebrating the deeds of Duke Frederigo of Urbino in *terza rima*. Giovanni's wife, the mother of Raphael, was Magia Ciarla. They had three children, but Raphael was the only one to survive infancy. The position occupied by the Santis in Urbino seems to have been that of a prosperous middle-class family—the class to which the painters of the early renaissance usually belonged.

Giovanni Santi was an artist of good local repute who may have studied under Melozzo da Forlì. It is said that in 1469, when Piero della Francesca stayed at Urbino, he lodged with the Santi family. At any rate the father of Raphael was a capable painter, though not of the first rank. A *Virgin and Child* by him, in the National Gallery, shows feeling perhaps in advance of the execution; and critics have found in his *Madonnas* the germ of that intensity of maternal feeling which is the glory of his son's work. How far this quality in the father's work is a reflection from that of the son thrown from the mirror of the critic's mind it is difficult to say. Considering that Raphael was only eleven years old at



Hanfstaengl photo]

[National Gallery, London

VISION OF A YOUNG KNIGHT



the time of his father's death, it would be unsafe to attribute much to paternal influence.

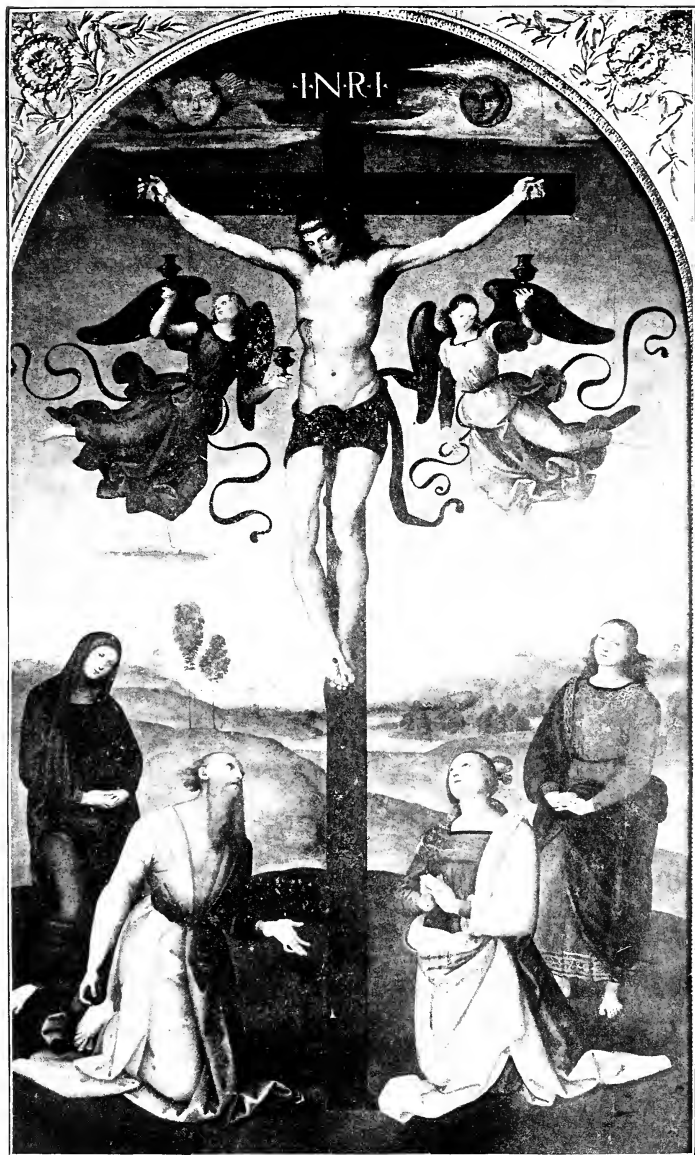
In the year 1491 Raphael's mother died, and his father married again six months later. In 1494 Giovanni Santi died leaving his estate to his son, charged with certain dowries, under the guardianship of his brother, Don Bartolomeo, a priest. The date of Raphael's installation at Perugia as a pupil of Perugino is uncertain, and the statement made by Vasari that Giovanni himself took the boy to Perugia is unconfirmed. Crowe and Cavalcaselle believe that Raphael settled at Perugia in 1495, bringing evidence to show that Perugino was then living there after an absence at Florence. Other authorities believe that it was not till 1500 that Raphael became an inmate of the studio of Perugino, who was undoubtedly at Perugia at that time, as he was then about to begin the decoration of the "Sala del Cambio."

If the later date is accepted some account has to be taken of the six years between the death of Giovanni Santi and 1500. It has been supposed by some critics that during this time Raphael became the pupil of Timoteo Viti, who was then living at Urbino. This may have been the case, though there cannot be said to be any facts to support the theory; the matter is, moreover, unimportant, as it is not possible to point to any works which show the definite influence of Viti. The alleged influence in the little picture of "A Knight's Dream," in the National Gallery, can hardly be substantiated, considering the Peruginesque qualities of the work, such as the arrangement of the feet and drapery of the figure holding out the flower. The important fact remains that Raphael did become a pupil of

Perugino, and the exact date of his entering the Perugian studio may be left as a battle-ground for experts.

The first trace of Raphael's work in the studio of his master is the Venetian sketch-book. This consists of fifty-three sheets with drawings on both sides. These sheets are now separated, but there is evidence thus that they were originally bound together, and they bear the same water-mark. The drawings at the beginning consist mostly of copies from the cartoons of Perugino's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel; those frescoes which it is so difficult to appreciate owing to their trying position under the roof of Michelangelo. Some critics have attributed the drawings in the sketch-book to Perugino and Pintoricchio, but Crowe and Cavalcaselle justly point out that these laboured and tentative drawings cannot be the original studies of an accomplished master, and there seems no reason to doubt that they are the school works of Raphael. Besides copying his master's cartoons the pupil would no doubt have to grind colours, prepare grounds, trace drawings, make enlargements, and transfer drawings to the panel. The amount of mechanical labour which has to be gone through in a studio when cartoons are being prepared for great decorative works is very large. Perugino, when getting ready to paint the walls of the "Sala del Cambio," would want a great deal of assistance, which a clever youth, who had in him the makings of a master, would be able to render in a way not possible to a mere workman.

It was the custom to surround altar-pieces with small subordinate paintings, and in the production of these it is highly probable that Perugino would call in the



[Collection of Mr L. Mond, London

THE CRUCIFIXION





Hanfstaengl photo

[Brera, Milan]

LO SPOSALIZIO

assistance of his pupil. Many little works of this nature exist, and are to be found in various galleries; they are freely ascribed to Raphael, but there can be no certainty in the ascriptions.

The earliest pictures which have been assigned to Raphael, painted independently of his master, although strongly influenced by him, are, "The Crucifixion," formerly belonging to Lord Dudley, now in the possession of L. Mond, Esq.; the banner picture, painted for Città di Castello; the "Coronation of the Virgin," with its three *predelle*, in the Vatican Gallery; the "Solly Madonna," the "Madonna with St. Francis and St. Jerome," and the "Diotalevi Madonna," these three last are at Berlin; the "Connestabile Madonna," at St. Petersburg. "Lo Sposalizio," in the Brera at Milan, may be said to mark a further stage in Raphael's emancipation. It bears, on the temple in the background of the picture, the inscription, "Raphael Urbinas, M.D. IIII." Vasari's allusion to this picture seems to indicate that he considered this work to show that the young painter was throwing off the trammels of Perugino. He says: "In this work the process of excellence may be distinctly traced in the manner of Raphael, which is here much refined, and greatly surpasses that of Pietro."¹ This is difficult to reconcile with the existence of the Perugino at Caen, which is so like in arrangement to Raphael's picture. Mr Berenson has a theory that the Caen "Sposalizio" is by Lo Spagna, and a copy of that of the Brera. This theory would agree with the passage

¹ For my quotations from Vasari I am indebted to the excellent edition of seventy of the lives edited by Messrs Blashfield and Hopkins (London: Bell, 1897), whose notes form a most useful addition to the text.

in Vasari.¹ Somewhere about this time Raphael most likely went to Siena, for Vasari says that Pintoricchio, who was about to paint in the Piccolomini Library, sent for Raphael to help him. There seems nothing unlikely in this story, and it would account for the drawing made from the antique group of the three graces, which was then at Siena, and which drawing Raphael used for the little picture of the "Graces," of the Dudley collection.

If the "Apollo and Marsyas," now in the Louvre, is authentic, it most likely belongs to this period. Much controversy has raged round this little picture without any definite result except much certainty on both sides by the experts. At Venice there exists a drawing for this work, in which the figure of Apollo is of the greatest beauty and far finer than in the painting. If the picture is genuine, may it not be a case of the fact, so common with young painters, that the study excels the finished work?

According to Vasari, Raphael left Siena on hearing of the great artistic stir then taking place in Florence, caused by the exhibition of Leonardo's and Michelangelo's cartoons for the decoration of a hall in the Palazzo Vecchio. It seems that Leonardo began to make preparations to paint in February 1505. This would accord with Vasari's story, and with the letter which the Duchess of Urbino wrote to the Gonfaloniere Soderini, recommending "The painter Raphael of Urbino." She says: "The talent which he possesses has decided him to come to Florence for a time, to

¹ See note to Blashfield and Hopkins' edition of Vasari.



[National Gallery, London]

THE ANSIDEI MADONNA

perfect himself in his art. His father was dear to me for his many excellent qualities, and I had not less affection for his son, who is a modest and agreeable young man, and one who will, I hope, make all possible progress." The letter is dated October 1, 1504. One cannot help being amused at the worthy Duchess's hope that the agreeable young man will make progress, when he was no other than the painter of "Lo Sposalizio."

It is quite possible that Raphael may have been to Florence before this, as it seems clear that Perugino was in the habit of going backwards and forwards between the Tuscan capital and Perugia; and he may have taken Raphael with him. However, it is not until the visit which seems to have been made at the end of the year 1504 that we can trace a stage in the development of the painter attributable to the influence of Florentine art.

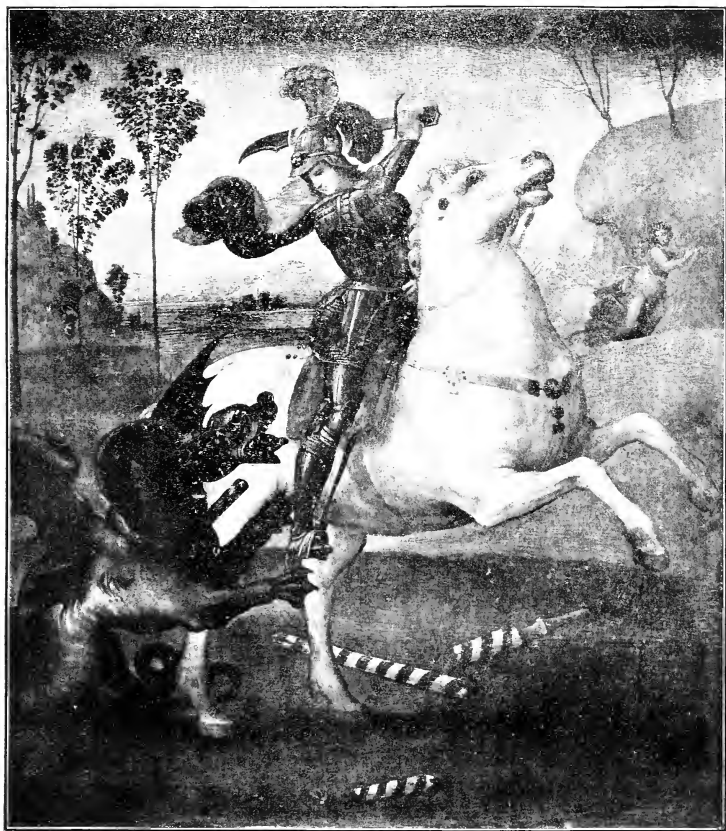
Raphael stayed in Florence from 1504 to 1508, paying occasional visits to both Perugia and Urbino. At the former place he carried out two important works, the "Madonna di Sant' Antonio," once in the South Kensington Museum, and the "Madonna Ansdei," in the National Gallery. While in Florence he painted that wonderful series of Madonnas, beginning with the "Gran' Duca" and "Terranuova," the full list of which will be found in the chronological table given at the end of this volume. While at Urbino Raphael probably received a commission from the Duke Guidobaldo to paint a St. George and the Dragon, which he wished to send to England. This, with other gifts, to be taken by Baldassare Castiglione, were

to be a return for the Order of the Garter, which had been sent to the Duke by Henry VII. What an extravagant return it seems to us, a picture by the hand of Raphael for a mere garter and collar of S.S. The little picture remained in the English royal collection till its sale by the Commonwealth, and it is now at St. Petersburg. The composition differs from the "St. George," in the Louvre, which was painted before Raphael left Perugia.

The "St. George," of the Louvre, maybe mentioned here in connection with the "Entombment," which Raphael painted at Florence; though commissioned in 1503 it was not finished till 1507.* Both pictures owe their origin to the bloodthirsty crimes of the Baglioni. These lords of Perugia apparently made it their practice to be always cutting throats, so that when they did not happen to be fighting with their neighbours they used up their surplus energy in slaughtering each other.

On one occasion, in 1495, a plot had called the Baglioni from their beds, and one of them, Astorre, held a street against an attack. The chronicler Matarazzo describes the knight and his charger both fighting fiercely. When Raphael painted the "St. George" he may have remembered having seen this incident. It is curious that on the helmet of the Saint is a griffin—the crest of the Baglioni. This griffin-crested warrior on the trampling white charger appears once again; this time he is the avenging spirit who treads under foot Heliodorus, overtaken in the crime of desecrating the Temple.

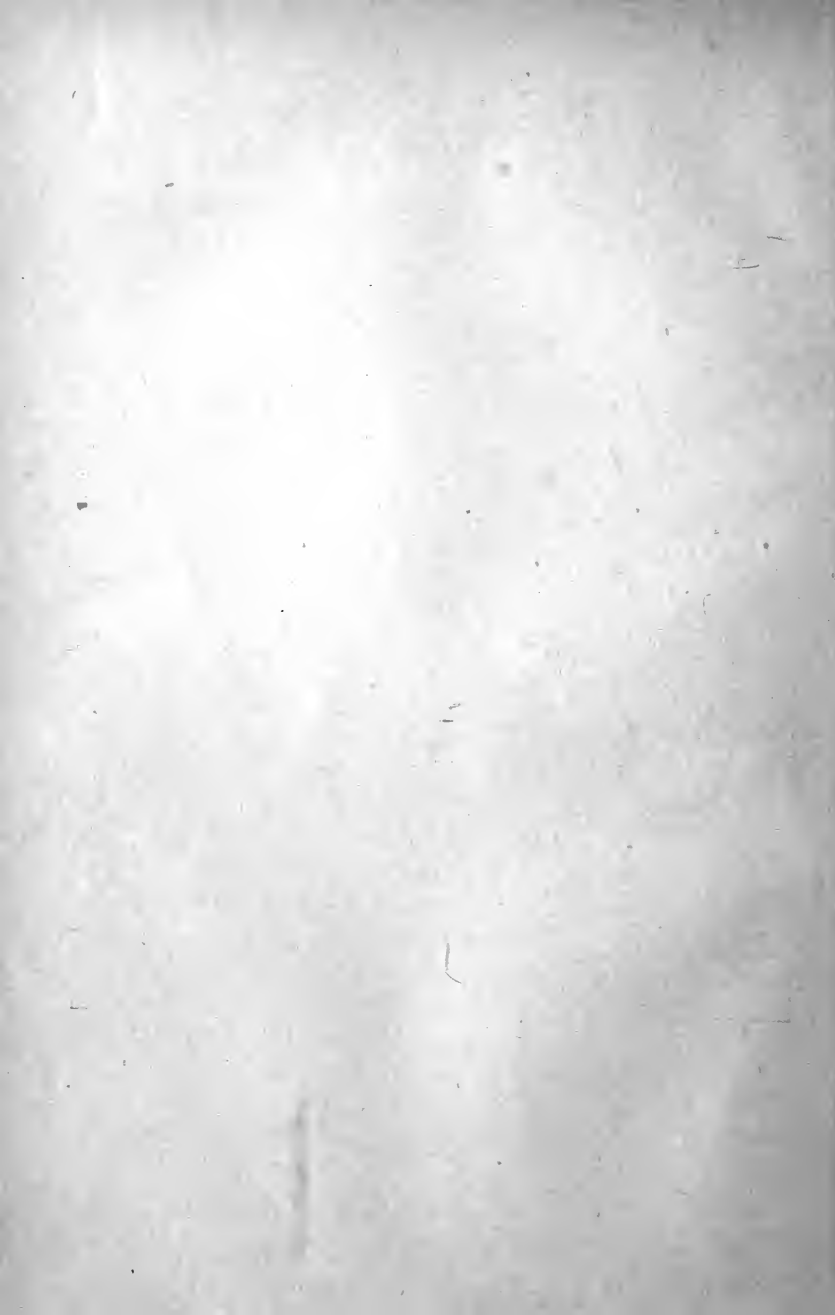
Another faction fight of the Baglioni, one which their historian calls the *gran tradimento*, was the cause of another work of Raphael. On this occasion



Neurde'n frères photo

[Louvre, Paris

ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON



one branch of the family succeeded in murdering the greater number of the other branch. But they were in their turn killed by the remnant of the former slaughter. Among the last to be killed was Griffone; and his mother, Atalanta, commissioned Raphael to paint an "Entombment," which now hangs in the Borghese collection.¹

With the pictures just named, and the fresco at San Severo at Perugia, already alluded to, the Florentine episode, and, indeed, an important part of Raphael's career, closes.

In order to separate the narrative of Raphael's life from the æsthetic consideration of his works, we may now pass on to the Roman period—the period of the artist's culmination. We shall see later on how enormously important to the young provincial painter was the sojourn in Florence, the headquarters of the most intellectual art of the time.

¹ For a fuller account of this crime, which partook of the elements of drama, like so many things of the Italian Renaissance, *see* Miss Symonds' and Miss Duff Gordon's "Perugia."

CHAPTER II

ROME

VASARI states that Raphael left Florence for Rome, "from the circumstance that Bramante of Urbino, being in the service of Pope Julius II., for some little relationship that he had with Raphael, and because they were of the same place, had written to the latter informing him that he had prevailed with the Pope to entrust certain rooms which the Pontiff had caused to be built in the Vatican to his care, and that therein he might give evidence of his ability."

Various speculations have been made as to the reason of this summons to Rome. Crowe and Cavalcaselle suggest that Michelangelo may have advised Julius to send for Raphael. There seems to be no ground for the supposition, except that there exists no documentary proof to the contrary. It is of such conjectures that the greater part of Raphael's biography is made up. Julius was a fiery man of action, and in haste to have his palace walls painted. He set to work a crowd of painters, and, while others remained obscure, Raphael emerged. The instant recognition of the great painters of the Renaissance by their contemporaries is highly creditable to that age; at that period we never hear of the genius unrecognised

till after his death. The interesting point is not how Raphael gained a first footing at the Vatican, but how his genius was instantly recognised.

As far as it can be guessed, Raphael began to paint in Rome at the end of 1508, or else in 1509, and we know that the first of the *stanze*—the “Camera della Segnatura”—was finished in 1511. These *stanze*, or rooms, which Raphael has made so famous, are a series of vaulted apartments leading out of each other. In the centres of two walls in each room, and facing each other, are windows, the doors also face each other, but are at the side; the rooms are square. The walls and roof of one of these rooms Raphael was called upon to decorate. It is not known why the Pope turned out Bazzi, who had already painted the ceiling of the “Camera della Segnatura,” and gave over the room to Raphael. Before the new work was begun the old had to be cleared away, but Raphael left the general disposition of the spaces as he found them, together with arabesques and little chiaroscuro paintings which served as a framework to his new decoration.

Vasari states that Raphael's first work in this “Camera” represented “Theologians engaged in the reconciling of Philosophy and Astrology with Theology,” and he goes on to describe the “School of Athens.” In spite of this, there is every reason to suppose that the first of the big subjects to be painted was the “Disputà,” the “School of Athens” being the second; this was in all probability followed by the “Parnassus,” the last being the “Jurisprudence,” with the two smaller pictures, “Justinian giving his Code to Trebonian,” and

"Gregory IV. publishing the Decretals." It seems idle, in the case of a room where one great scheme of decoration is consistently carried out, to insist on chronology, as in all probability the various parts were present in the artist's mind together. At the same time, the "Disputà" unquestionably shows signs of Raphael's earlier manner, and it may be regarded as the bridge by which he passed from the style he learnt from Perugino to that of his own maturity. The bridge touches both sides of the river, but is neither on one nor the other.

While the work in the "Camera della Segnatura" was being carried out, another vast undertaking was in progress near by. In 1509, Michelangelo finished the first half of the Sistine vault, and no doubt Raphael was among those eager to see what the man who had drawn the cartoon of "The Battle of Pisa," at Florence, had been about.

The rivalry between Michelangelo and Raphael has been greatly exaggerated for dramatic purposes by their biographers; it is probable that Michelangelo had a high esteem for the art of his fellow-workman in the Vatican. Unquestionably Raphael would not have painted quite as he did if Michelangelo had never existed, but this is a different thing from saying that his style is a borrowed one.

Under the "Parnassus" there is an inscription to the effect that the whole work was finished in 1511. At the utmost, two years and a half were occupied in the decoration of this room, and, when one considers the number, size, and variety of the paintings, one can only say, "there were giants in those days."



Alinari photo]

[Vatican, Rome

MADONNA DI FOLIGNO

At the time when Raphael was working out this great decorative scheme he was also at work in his studio upon easel pictures. To this period belong the "Casa d'Alba," "Garvagh," "Foligno," "Bridgewater," and "Diadem" Madonnas. It is not possible to say with absolute certainty that all these were finished at the same time as the first "Camera"; indeed, the completion of some of them may belong to the next year, 1512. In this wonderful series of Madonnas two are especially remarkable—the "Casa d'Alba" and the "Foligno"—for their beauty and grandeur; and also, because these two are the forerunners of the painter's greatest triumphs in this direction, the "Seggiola" and the "San Sisto." Infinite beauty of sentiment and faultless delicacy of execution characterise the first of each pair; while majesty and breadth belong to the other two. The "Madonna di Foligno" was painted at the request of Sigismondo Conti, the secretary of Julius II., who wished the picture to adorn the altar of the Conti chapel in the church of the Ara Coeli in Rome. Conti was a distinguished churchman and historian, and is alluded to in the rhymed chronicle which Giovanni Santi wrote. He died in 1512, probably before the picture was finished. In 1565 the picture was taken to Foligno at the instance of Anna, the niece of Conti. The kneeling figure of an ecclesiastic on the right is supposed to be the portrait of the donor, who wished to commemorate his miraculous escape either from a meteor or a bombshell (authorities differ as to which). The meteoric theory, however, has on its side an American meteorologist whose researches show that on September 4, 1511, a remarkable fall of meteors took place in Italy,

but this does not prove that Sigismondo was nearly killed by one.

The portrait of Julius II. must be mentioned here. The beard in the portrait proves the date to have been after Julius returned humbled to Rome at the end of an unsuccessful campaign, he having determined not to shave till Bologna was subdued. His return occurred in 1511, so that it is after that date that the picture was painted. There exist several versions of the portrait. The Uffizi, Pitti, and National Gallery each has one—which is the original? Crowe and Cavalcaselle maintain that none are original, though all founded on Raphael's cartoon, which still exists in a ruined condition at the Corsini Palace in Florence. Vasari saw the original picture when it was at the church of S. M. del Popolo, in Rome, and described its awe-inspiring aspect. Crowe and Cavalcaselle say: "When the house of Rovere fell into decay at the close of the sixteenth century, Cardinal Sfondrato transferred the panel to his own palace, and offered it for sale to the Emperor Rudolph II., and, shortly after this, all trace of the picture had been lost." There still remains the possibility that in the future some explorer of Italian archives may light upon some old inventory which may give a clue as to what became of it.

In August 1511 Julius went to look at the "Camera della Segnatura," which was finished, and also at the Sistine chapel, which was half done. There are stories that Bramante set on foot an intrigue with the intention of influencing Julius to give the completion of the Sistine to Raphael. What part the various people took, if any, in this disreputable affair is unknown, but there is no



Alinari photo

[Vatican, Rome]

HELIODORUS EXPELLED FROM THE TEMPLE

(DETAIL)

(From the Camera d'Eliodoro)

reason to suppose that Raphael had the slightest wish to interfere with Michelangelo. Indeed, anything of the kind is so utterly foreign to all that is recorded of him, that we may rest assured that he had no part in this scheme. While matters were unsettled the Pope fell seriously ill, but on his recovery he settled the matter of the artists—after a meal of onions and peaches—and told Michelangelo to finish his roof and Raphael to set about painting another of the *stanze*. This room is the one which takes its name from the “Heliodorus expelled from the Temple.”

We now enter the perplexing period which continued to the end of the painter's life, the period of scholars and assistants. With the advent of these helpers we are for the first time seriously confronted with the problems which arise in trying to assign to the master and to the pupils their respective parts of the frescoes. With some critics the question becomes acute, and they will hardly allow that Raphael painted anything with his own hand. Indeed, if we were to deduct all the painting which the experts attribute to scholars, the remaining authentic works would hardly seem to be enough to occupy a busy man, and we know that Raphael worked hard and continuously. The whole subject is one which rests almost entirely upon speculation, and the usual practice is for the critic to assign to assistants those pictures or parts of pictures which he himself does not care about. Giulio Romano, Perino del Vaga, Giovanni da Udine, and Francesco Penni, were all assistants and workers in Raphael's studio in the preparation of cartoons, and in the *stanza* itself transferring drawings to the wall, and doing all the

endless artistic odd jobs incident to the progress of a great work.

Without taking so extreme a view as some people do as to the preponderating quantity of actual painting done by these men, it is impossible to doubt that parts of the final surface of the frescoes must be ascribed to their hands. Though not an assistant of Raphael in the same sense as the above-named, mention must here be made of Marc Antonio Raimondi the engraver. Marc Antonio came to Rome in 1510, and is said to have introduced the engravings of Dürer to Raphael, who kept them in his studio. It is interesting to see that Raphael's art was never in the least influenced by his German contemporary. Quick as Raphael was to allow himself to be swayed by outside forces, his artistic instinct was too true to allow him to make the blunder of attempting to infuse any German spirit into his Italian art. Perhaps the first plate engraved by Marc Antonio directly influenced by Raphael was the "Massacre of the Innocents." Raphael does not seem to have made a complete composition, or at any rate none now remains, but there exist drawings for individual figures. These drawings may have been combined by the engraver himself, or Raphael may have sketched roughly the whole composition, and then worked out the parts. The subject was not suited to the painter's genius; scenes of pure horror were seldom treated by him, and when he did attempt them there is always an academic frigidity about them which does credit to his nature, which could take no delight in horrors. Marc Antonio engraved a plate of the "Parnassus," which contains certain differences from



Brogi photo

JURISPRUDENCE

(From the Camera della Segnatura)

Vatican, Rome



the fresco. It is possible that he worked from drawings which were altered when the picture was actually put upon the wall.

The walls of the "Camera d'Elidoro" had been frescoed by Piero della Francesca and Bramantino, the roof by Peruzzi. In the wasteful manner of the times the walls were cleared of their old decorations, though the framework of the roof-paintings was left as it had been in the "Camera della Segnatura." The arrangement of the subjects for the new work was thus :—On the roof, "God's Grace extended to Noah," "Abraham's Sacrifice," "Jacob's Dream," and "The Burning Bush"; on the four walls the pictures which have a connection with those on the ceiling are, "Attila driven back," "The Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple," "The Deliverance of Peter," and "The Miracle of Bolsena." If these subjects are compared with the subjects of the designs in the first "Camera," a great difference will be noticed. In the first room the subjects are abstract ideas—theology, poetry, philosophy, justice,—in the second room they are all incidents. This change will be discussed in its proper place, here it is only noted as a landmark in Raphael's course.

During the painting of this room the Pope died, and stories were told of the death-bed repentances of this violent despot. The dialogue between the Pontiff and St. Peter at the gate of heaven, which made such a stir in Europe, and which was attributed to Erasmus, probably gives a not unjust picture of Julius. After reading the history of this man one is struck with amazement that such people could feel any interest or pleasure in such noble beauty and gentle strength as is revealed in the art of

Raphael. But this contradiction runs all through the history of the Italian Renaissance. The most infamous and debased seemed somehow to have kept a feeling for the fine arts. To argue from this that the painters were probably much the same as the popes and princes, would be to mistake. Nothing seems more certain than that the greatest of the artists—Michelangelo, Raphael, Leonardo, and others—maintained a moral level far above that of the men who employed them.

After the accession of Leo X. Raphael resumed his labours at the Vatican. He had to alter the group of the Pope and his Cardinals, and put in Leo instead of Julius. The "Camera" was finished in the summer of 1514.

Some account must be taken of the stories as to the "Fornarina," about whom an incredible amount of nonsense has been written. According to M. Müntz, the name of "Fornarina" was invented in the last century. The only existing evidence as to the name of Raphael's "inamorata" being a marginal note in a copy of Vasari, dating from the last half of the sixteenth century, which gives the name as Margherita. M. Müntz affirms that the sole authority for the story of the lady-love is to be found in the following passages from Vasari:—

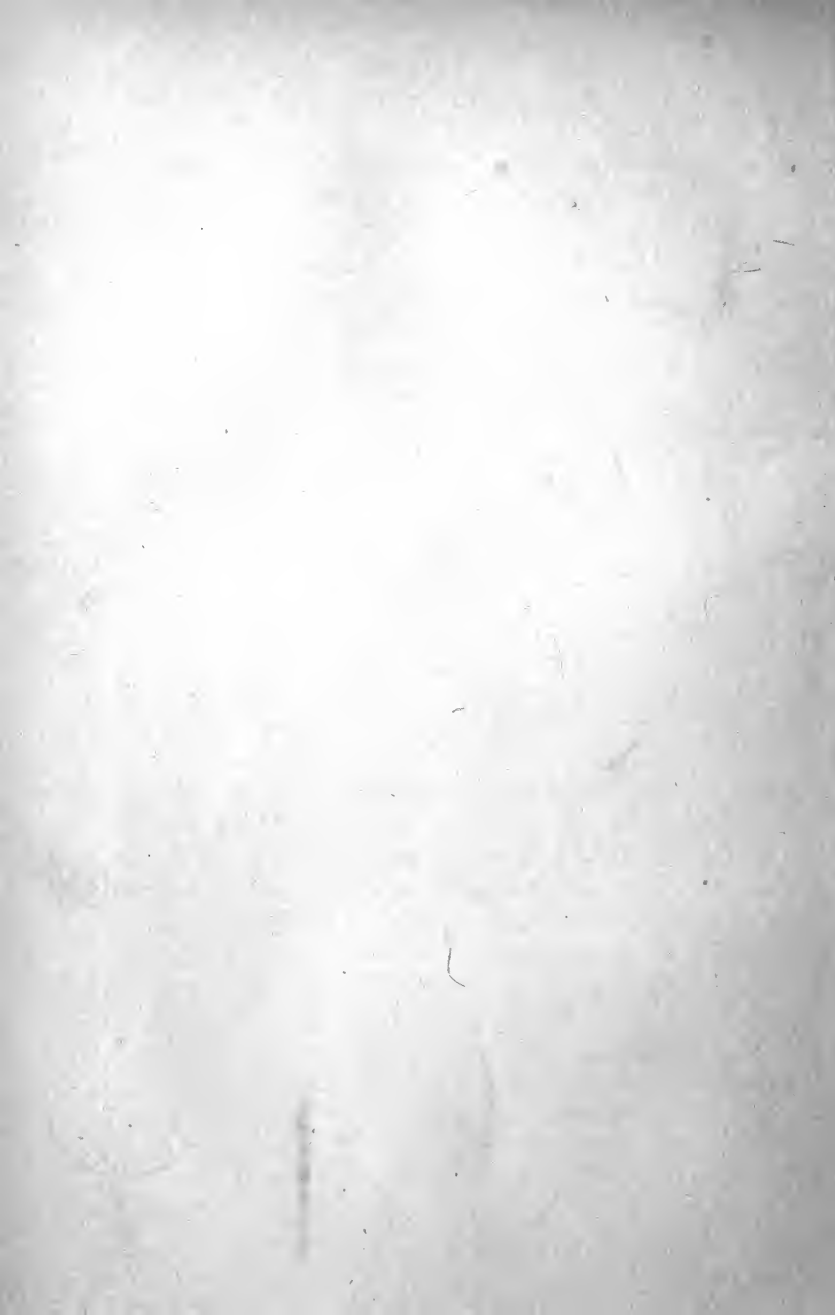
"Il Baviera, his disciple, who was the guardian of a certain lady, to whom Raphael was attached till the day of his death, and of whom he painted a most beautiful portrait, which might be supposed alive. . . . (Raphael) also painted the portrait of Beatrice of Ferrara, with those of other ladies; that of his own innamorata is more particularly to be specified, but he also executed many others. He was much disposed to the gentler affections and delighted in the society of woman, for whom he was ever



Alinari photo

[Pitti Palace, Florence]

LEO X



ready to perform acts of service. But he also permitted himself to be devoted somewhat too earnestly to the pleasures of life, and in this respect was perhaps more than duly considered and indulged by his friends and admirers. We find it related that his intimate friend Agostino Chigi had commissioned him to paint the first floor of his palace, but Raphael was at that time so much occupied with the love which he bore to the lady of his choice, that he could not give sufficient attention to the work. Agostino, therefore, falling at length into despair of seeing it finished, made so many efforts by means of friends and by his own care, that after much difficulty he at length prevailed on the lady to take up her abode in his house, where she was accordingly installed in apartments near those which Raphael was painting; in this manner the work was ultimately brought to a conclusion. . . . The painter meanwhile did not abandon the light attachment by which he was enchained, and one day on returning to his house from one of these secret visits, he was seized with a violent fever, which, being mistaken for a cold, the physicians inconsiderately caused him to be bled, whereby he found himself exhausted, when he had rather required to be strengthened. Thereupon he made his will, and, as a good Christian, he sent the object of his attachment from the house, but left her a sufficient provision wherewith she might live in decency."

These passages have been given in full, but it must be remembered that Vasari was not one of Raphael's intimate friends, and that he is frequently inaccurate in detail. The passage in which the "inamorata" is reported to have been brought to the Farnesina seems to be the basis for the wild story told by Fabio Chigi, who became Pope Alexander VII. in 1665, in a life he wrote of his ancestor Agostino Chigi.¹ Alexander VII. says that Leo X. discovered that Raphael was not giving his whole time to his work. Leo consulted Agostino Chigi, the rich banker, a patron of the arts. Chigi

¹ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. ii. n. 197.

declared that Raphael was wasting his time with a lady, and that a stratagem was wanted to bring him back to his painting. Chigi was also anxious that Raphael should finish work undertaken for him—the “Sibylls,” and the “Galatea,” at the Farnesina. The plan proposed by the politic banker was that the lady should be secretly carried off and kept in seclusion. The Pope consented, agreeing that Chigi should be allowed some of Raphael’s time in payment for this discreditable affair. The story goes that after the abduction Chigi called upon Raphael, who, of course, was in deep despair. Chigi then offered to make search for the lady on Raphael promising to go on with his work. The painter set to, but no lady was forthcoming, and his flagging energies had to be kept up with an imaginary correspondence. Finally Chigi, the rescuer, brought the lady to the Farnesina, and installed her there, so that the painter might be inspired by her charms as he worked upon the “Galatea.”

It seems strange that such a story should be told by one Pope of the doings of his ancestor and another Pope. On the face of it, it is highly improbable. From his letters we must believe Raphael to have been far too intelligent and businesslike to have been taken in by so obvious a stratagem, in spite of its Pontifical origin. There is no confirmation of the tale. The so-called “Fornarina,” at Florence, is not only a fiction as regards the name, but the painting is certainly not by Raphael. Sebastiano del Piombo is now looked upon as its author. The other so-called “Fornarina,” in the Barberini Palace, was painted by Raphael, but was apparently christened by the gossiping Pope



Alinari photo]

[Vatican, Rome

ANGEL

(From "Peter released from Prison")



Alexander VII. It requires the ingenuity of a German critic (Grimm in his life of Michelangelo) to find the proof that the picture was that of the "inamorata," because the painter has put his signature on the band of velvet encircling the lady's arm. One trembles to think what tender romances might be made out of Sir Joshua Reynolds' desire to go down to posterity on the hem of Mrs Siddon's garment, when he put his name there.

The exact relationship of Raphael to the woman whose name appears in connection with his, will in all probability remain obscure. Beside the mention of an "inamorata" by Vasari, there remain to be considered the various ladies whom Raphael's relations and friends wished him to marry. Before discussing this question let us read Raphael's letter, most likely written in 1514, to his cousin; the following translation is quoted from Crowe and Cavalcaselle (vol. ii. p. 201).

*"To my dearest Cousin, Simone
di Battista di Ciarla in Urbino.*

"Dearest, in place of a father. I have received one of yours; most dear to me, because it assures me that you are not angry; which indeed would be wrong considering how tiresome it is to write when one has nothing of consequence to say. But now, being of consequence, I reply to tell you as much as I am able to communicate.

"At first in reference to taking a wife, I reply that I am quite content in respect of her, whom you first wished to give me, and I thank God constantly that I took neither her nor another, and in this I was wiser than you who wished me to take her. I am sure that you too are now aware that I would not have the position I now hold, since I find myself at this present in possession of things in Rome worth three thousand ducats of gold, and

receipts of fifty scudi in gold, because His Holiness has given me a salary of three hundred gold ducats for attending to the building of St. Peter's, which I shall never fail to enjoy so long as my life lasts ; and I am certain of getting others, and am also paid for what I do to what amount I please, and I have begun to paint another room for His Holiness which will amount to one thousand two hundred ducats of gold, so that, dearest cousin, I do honour to you and all relatives, and to my country ; yet for all that, I hold you dear in the centre of my heart, and when I hear your name, I feel as if I heard that of a father ; and do not complain of me because I do not write, because I have to complain of you that you sit pen in hand all day, and let six months go by between one letter and the other. Still, with all that, you will not make me angry with you as you do wrongly with me.

"I have come fairly out of the matter of a wife, but, to return to that, I answer that you may know that St. Maria in Porticu (Cardinal Bibiena) wants me to have one of his relatives, and with the assent of you and the cousin priest (Bartolomeo Santi), I promised to do what his reverent lordship wanted, and I cannot break my word, we are now more than ever on the point of settling and presently I shall advise you of everything. Have patience, as the matter is in such a good way, and then, should it not come off, I will do as you may wish, and know that if Francesco Buffa has offers for me I have some of my own also, and I can find a handsome wife of excellent repute in Rome as I have heard. She and her relatives are ready to give me three thousand gold scudi as a dowry and I live in a house at Rome, and one hundred ducats are worth more here than two hundred there ; of this be assured.

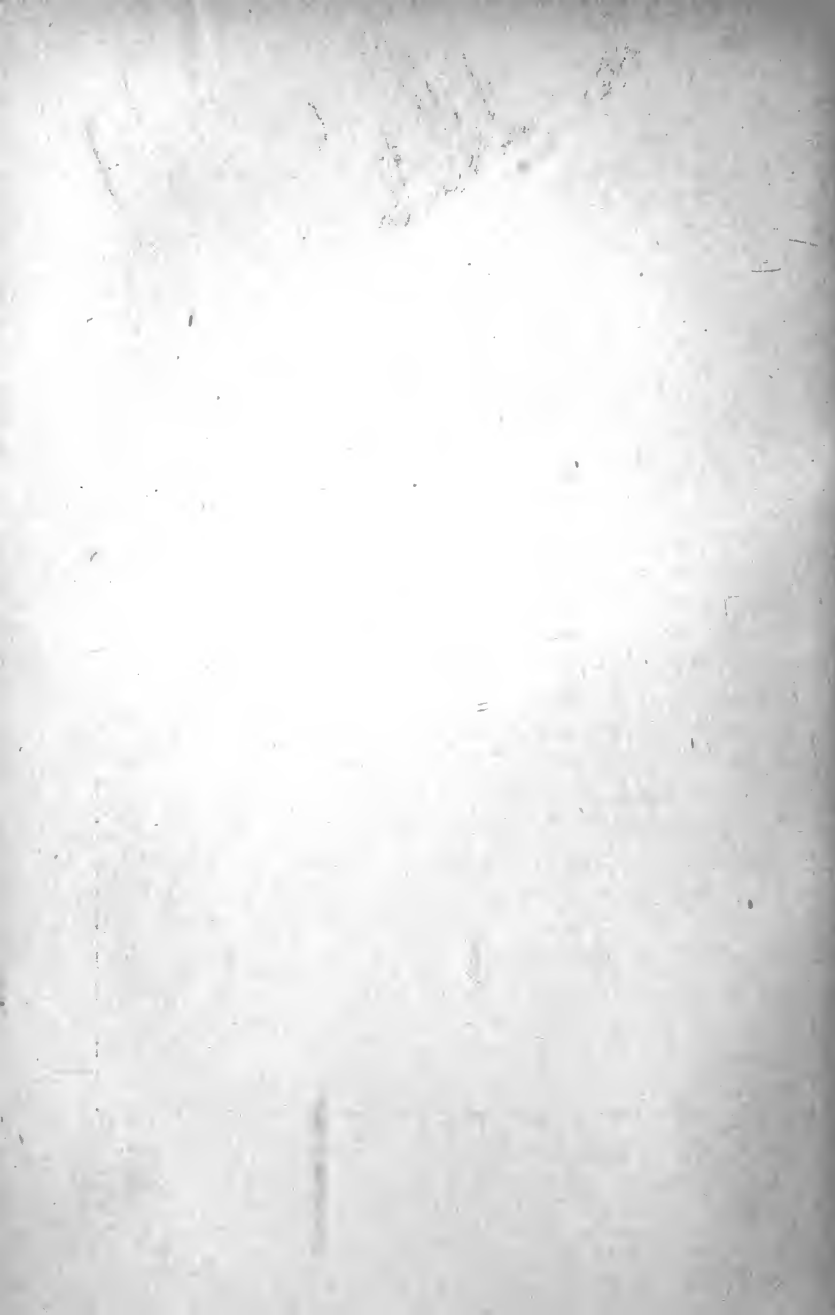
"As to my stay in Rome, I cannot live anywhere else for any time, if only because of the building of St. Peter's, as I am in place of Bramante ; but what place in the world is more worthy than Rome, what enterprise more worthy than St. Peter's, which is the first temple of the world, and the largest building that has ever been seen, the cost of which will exceed a million in gold ? And know that the Pope has ordered the expenditure on that building of sixty thousand ducats a year, and he never gives a thought to anything else. He has given me a companion, a most learned old friar of more than eighty years of age. The Pope sees that he cannot live long ; he has resolved to give



Alinari photo

[Pitti Palace, Florence]

CARDINAL BIBIENA



him to me as a companion, for he is a man of high reputation, and of the greatest acquirements, in order that I may learn from him, and, if he has any secret in architecture, that I may become perfect in that art. His name is Fra Giocondo; and the Pope sends for him every day and chats a little with us about the building.

"I beg you to be good enough to go to the Duke and Duchess and tell them this, as I know they will be pleased to hear that one of their servants does them honour, and recommend me to them as I continually stand recommended to you. Salute all friends and relatives for me, and particularly Ridolfo, who has so much love for me.

The first of July, 1514.

Your RAPHAEL, painter in Rome."

Very strange to our ideas is this careful balancing of matrimonial possibilities. First, Raphael is devoutly thankful that he did not marry early, as thereby his worldly position might have suffered. Next, he discusses the possibility of marrying a relative of Cardinal Bibiena: this he seems to think rather a doubtful project, and is willing to consider the offer of Francesco Buffa; while at the same time he points out that he can obtain in Rome a "handsome wife of excellent repute" with a good dowry. Vasari tells the story of Bibiena's relation, and says that Raphael continued to put off the marriage, one reason being that Leo X. had promised to make him a Cardinal, apparently in payment of a large sum of money owed to the painter for his work at the Vatican. No painter either before or after this time was actually given the red hat, and the story wants confirmation before it can be accepted.

To gauge accurately the conduct of Raphael in such matters it would be necessary to make an inquiry into the conditions of society at the time, far beyond the scope of this brief biography. Suffice it to say that

Raphael never seems to have seriously entertained the idea of marrying anyone, but remained faithful to his "inamorata," for whom he provided in his will. The confused and groundless stories which have grown up round this subject must be my excuse for treating it at length. The facts are few, and probably all that will be known. In spite of the scantiness of our knowledge it seems safe to say that Raphael loved ". . . only once, and for one only," and remained faithful to his choice till the day of his death. That this love was not sanctified by marriage must be largely attributed to the corruption of the time.

The story Pope Alexander VII. records tends to show that this hard-working artist was a mere slave to passion, but it is the height of unreason to believe this on no more assurance than that of gossip written down after a hundred years. The fact remains that in a short time Raphael accomplished a perfectly phenomenal amount of work, work of a kind which needed constant attention and unremitting care. Fresco painting requires great concentration and patience, to say nothing of the enormous labour of preparing the countless studies and cartoons. Besides this, there was the superintendence of the building of St. Peter's, and the excavation of Ancient Rome, to say nothing of easel pictures and portraits.

By universal testimony, Raphael seems to have been endowed with the most beautiful of natures. Envy and jealousy had no part in his character. His power of working with others harmoniously must have been remarkable, and it was this quality as well as his honesty that most likely induced Leo X. to make him surveyor

of the building of St. Peter's, after the death of Bramante. There is no reason to suppose that it was for any special capacity for architecture that he was chosen. In fact, during his administration of the works, little or no change was made from Bramante's design. Fra Giocondo, the old monkish architect and eminent mathematician, no doubt supplied the technical knowledge required; and Raphael caused the work to proceed smoothly by the wonderful sweetness of his disposition. In him the Pope had one who could oversee the work with rare tact and intelligence, and whose high character would stop the waste and theft which had been rife.

The brief appointing Raphael architect of St. Peter's was signed in August 1514; there is evidence from records of payments that he was doing the work in the preceding April. To Raphael is attributed the alteration of the plan, which was originally a Greek cross. He is said to have lengthened the nave, making it into a Latin one. Such an alteration was most likely demanded by the ecclesiastical authorities, on account of the controversies between the Eastern and Western Churches.

The other architectural works attributed to Raphael include the Farnesina stables and the Villa Madama. No certainty exists as to either of these, and at the most he probably only made sketches which trained architects reduced to working plans. The Chigi chapel in Sta. Maria del Popolo is ascribed to him, but the probability is that Raphael planned not the structure but the internal decoration. He certainly furnished the designs for the mosaics in the cupola, which represent the planets.

Before going on to describe the painting of the last of the *stanze*, some account must be given of the easel pictures which Raphael painted while he was carrying on the work in the "Camera d'Eliodoro." The most important of these pictures was the "Madonna della Seggiola," now in the Pitti at Florence. This most beautiful of Holy Families was painted entirely by Raphael himself, as was the "Madonna del Pesce," which is at Madrid. The Naples "Madonna del Divino Amore," and the Florentine "Madonna dell' Impannata," also belong to this period; a large share in the painting of these two last mentioned is usually ascribed to Giulio Romano. The child in the "Impannata," however, seems to display a touch finer than that of the pupil. Most likely the master worked over and re-painted in many places.

In 1514 Raphael began the "Camera dell' Incendio del Borgo," the last of the *stanze* in which he was to paint with his own hand; for the Hall of Constantine was not begun till after his death. The first fresco to be done was the "Incendio." The story goes that a fire breaking out in the wooden buildings near the portico of St. Peter's in early times threatened to consume the basilica. Leo IV. caused the fire miraculously to cease by making the sign of the cross. This subject was, no doubt, chosen from political motives. The roof of this room had been painted by Perugino, and his work, unlike the original decorations of the other rooms, was left.

It has been supposed that reverence for his master induced Raphael to leave this fresco, but the Pope's haste and the overwhelming nature of his various works



Alinari photo

[Pitti Palace, Florence]

MADONNA DELLA SEGGIOLA



may have influenced him in leaving this part of the old decoration. The subjects painted on the four walls are "The Coronation of Charlemagne," "The Battle of Ostia," "Leo III. taking the Oath before Charlemagne," and the "Fire in the Borgo." Only in this last is Raphael's hand to a large extent decisively shown. This room, like that of Heliodorus, falls below the "Camera della Segnatura" in homogeneity of decorative idea. With the exception of the "Fire in the Borgo," the works are ceremonial pictures uninspiring to the painter. This last of the Vatican *stanze* was finished in 1517, and Raphael was able to do more in the way of undertaking commissions from private individuals, after about nine years' work in the Papal palace. Not that he had passed out of the Pope's employment, for he had still the supervision of St. Peter's, the production of the cartoons for the Sistine tapestry, and, lastly, the excavation of ancient Rome.

It seems wonderful to us that Leo should have been so incredibly stupid as to set the man who could do such glorious painting as the "School of Athens," and the "Miracle of Bolsena," to grubbing in the rubbish heaps of Rome after remains of antiquity. What Roman art, one wonders, was worth digging up at the cost of hindering Raphael's brush, and exposing him to dangers of malaria.

The Sistine tapestries had their origin in the destruction of the old basilica of St. Peter's to make way for the new building. At first an attempt was made to carry on the great church functions at the old altar which was left, the new church being built round it. But the inconvenience was great; screens and hangings

could not prevent the wind from blowing out the altar candles. Gradually the ceremonies were transferred to the Sistine chapel, the largest available church at the Vatican. To make an imposing appearance the bare walls below the "Quattrocento" frescoes at the end nearest the altar had to be covered. To meet this want Raphael was commissioned to draw cartoons for a series of New Testament subjects. Pieter Van Aelst of Brussels was the weaver, and the cartoons were cut into strips vertically for convenience of the workmen.

Rubens is said to have recommended Charles I. to buy the cartoons, which had not been sent back to Italy. Apparently Charles only looked on them as patterns for tapestry, for in Van der Doort's catalogue of the king's collection is the following entry: "Some two cartoons of Raphael Urbin for hangings in a slit wooden case in a passage room, the other five having been delivered by the king's appointment to Francis Cleane at Mortlake"—the royal tapestry factory. When the Commonwealth, in want of money, sold the king's works of art, Cromwell bought the cartoons for the nation for £300, thus securing to England the nearest approach possible to the great wall decorations of Italy, the cartoons being essentially frescoes in the style of their design and execution, and not easel pictures. In the reign of William III. the cartoons were hung up at Hampton Court, and now they are to be found at the South Kensington Museum, in a gallery lighted with a prismatic skylight, which, according to scientific expert opinion, acts as a sieve to sift out the rays injurious to the permanency of colours.

If the history of the cartoons has been varied, that of the tapestries has been even more so. At the death of Leo X. they were pawned for a large sum of money. In 1527, after the sack of Rome, they were sold by the soldiers of the Constable of Bourbon, who cut the "Elymas" in two, and thus one half was lost. Two of the tapestries got to Constantinople, and were there bought and restored to Julius III.; the rest were bought back at Lyons. In 1798, after the French occupation of Rome, they were sold by the French. After exhibition in Paris, Pius VII. bought them back in 1808, and since then they have remained, in a more or less damaged condition, at the Vatican.

The "Galatea" fresco at the Farnesina was painted before the ceiling decorations of "Cupid and Psyche." The former was painted wholly or in most part, by Raphael himself, the latter was the work of Giulio Romano and others, from the drawings of the master. That he did not carry out these noble designs himself is much to be regretted, and the figure of one of the Graces, which is from Raphael's hand, shows us what we have lost. This figure shines in luminous beauty of pearly tones amid the brick-red flesh painted by the assistants. A little known work, which owes its origin to the excavations of ancient Rome, is the bathroom of Cardinal Bibiena at the Vatican. The enormous quantities of material absorbed by the building of St. Peter's caused the need of a new supply. To meet this the Pope issued a brief on August 27, 1515, empowering Raphael to examine and buy the marble of ruins above and below ground within ten miles of the city.

In these excavations Raphael became closely acquainted with the style of ancient Roman art, and the frescoes for Bibiena were no doubt the result. Passavant tells us that he saw these frescoes in 1835, just before they were covered over with the panelling required to turn the bathroom into a chapel. Passavant attributes the execution to scholars, but thinks Raphael planned the work; though Giulio Romano may have invented two of the frescoes, which are all of small dimensions. The last great work in fresco in the Vatican to be mentioned, for which Raphael is responsible, is the so-called "Raphael's Bible," which adorns the *loggie*. No part of this work was executed by the master; and it seems doubtful, considering the faultiness of much of the drawing of the figures, especially in their proportions, that the master had any hand even in the cartoons. It seems as though Giulio Romano and others had before them nothing more than slight indications of the grouping of the figures. Yet the spirit of Raphael is present throughout.

Another work of Raphael's last years is the roof of the Chigi chapel in Sta. Maria del Popolo at Rome. The subject represented is the creation of the Planets. The designs were carried out with great skill by Venetian mosaic workers. In this chapel are two statues, one of which, a Jonah, has been attributed to Raphael. Though there may be truth in the tradition, as far as the general design is concerned, it seems certain that the execution in marble was due to Lorenzetto. At the South Kensington Museum there exists a little clay sketch of the figure, which claims



Haerstaen's photo

[Dresden Gallery]

MADONNA DI SAN SISTO

to be the model made by Raphael; but there is no proof of the existence of any work of sculpture by his hand.

In 1515 Leo called to Florence Michelangelo, Leonardo, and Raphael, to advise as to finishing the façade of the church of San Lorenzo. The work was eventually entrusted to Michelangelo. He, we know, travelled in the train of the Pope, but it is not known whether the other two did so as well; neither is there any record if these three, the greatest of Italian painters, met together.

There remains now only to record the great oil pictures, which close the list of Raphael's stupendous achievement. First and foremost comes the "Madonna di San Sisto"—this picture was painted entirely by the master's hand, in 1519, for the monks of San Sisto; the great portrait group of Leo X. with the Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Lodovico de' Rossi—this was painted between 1517 and 1519; the "Road to Calvary," known as the "Spasimo di Sicilia," the picture which was shipwrecked in the Gulf of Genoa and picked up by the Genoese. These were all great works executed by Raphael's own hand, and to them must be added the "St. Cecilia," at Bologna, and, last of all, the "Transfiguration." In 1517 Cardinal de' Medici commissioned both Raphael and Sebastiano del Piombo to paint altar-pieces for him, thinking, very likely, that the rivalry existing between the two painters might secure him two masterpieces. Sebastiano painted the "Raising of Lazarus," now in the National Gallery, and got Michelangelo to help him with the drawing of the figure of Lazarus. Raphael painted the "Transfiguration."

The following account of Raphael's death is from a footnote in "The Lives and Works of Michelangelo and Raphael," by R. Duppa and Quatremère de Quincy. How far the account is authentic it is impossible to say for certain. At any rate the narrative fits the known facts, and nothing seems more certain than that Raphael died from overwork. A frail body tenanted by a great and energetic spirit:—

"... Signor Longhena (1829) relates the opinion which is communicated to him by the celebrated Signor Missirini, and several details hitherto unknown. Signor Missirini writes that Francesco Cancellieri, an indefatigable collector of the slightest particulars relative to past centuries, and of documents before unknown, showed him an ancient manuscript, which he had got from the Cardinal Antonelli, and which contains the following narration of the death of Raffaello :

"'Raffaello Sanzo was of a refined and most delicate constitution ; his life, from its outset, had hung upon the smallest thread ; his frame was all spirit ; his physical strength so limited that it was a wonder he existed so long as he did. Thus weak of body, while working one day in the Farnesina, he received the command to repair to court. Prompt to obey, he instantly proceeded thither without waiting for his equipage, and ran all the way to the Vatican without stopping. When he arrived he was all breathless, and perspired profusely ; and, standing for a long time in this condition in one of the vast halls, talking with the Pope about the progress of St. Peter's, he felt a sudden chill throughout his whole person ; and, on returning home, was seized with a fever which ended in death.'—'The perusal of this paper,' adds M. Missirini, 'was for me most satisfactory, and my confidence in it was augmented still more by the assurance which was given as to the accuracy of its details by the celebrated painter Camuccini, who, with great talent, combines a most extensive knowledge of the history of the masters of his art.'"

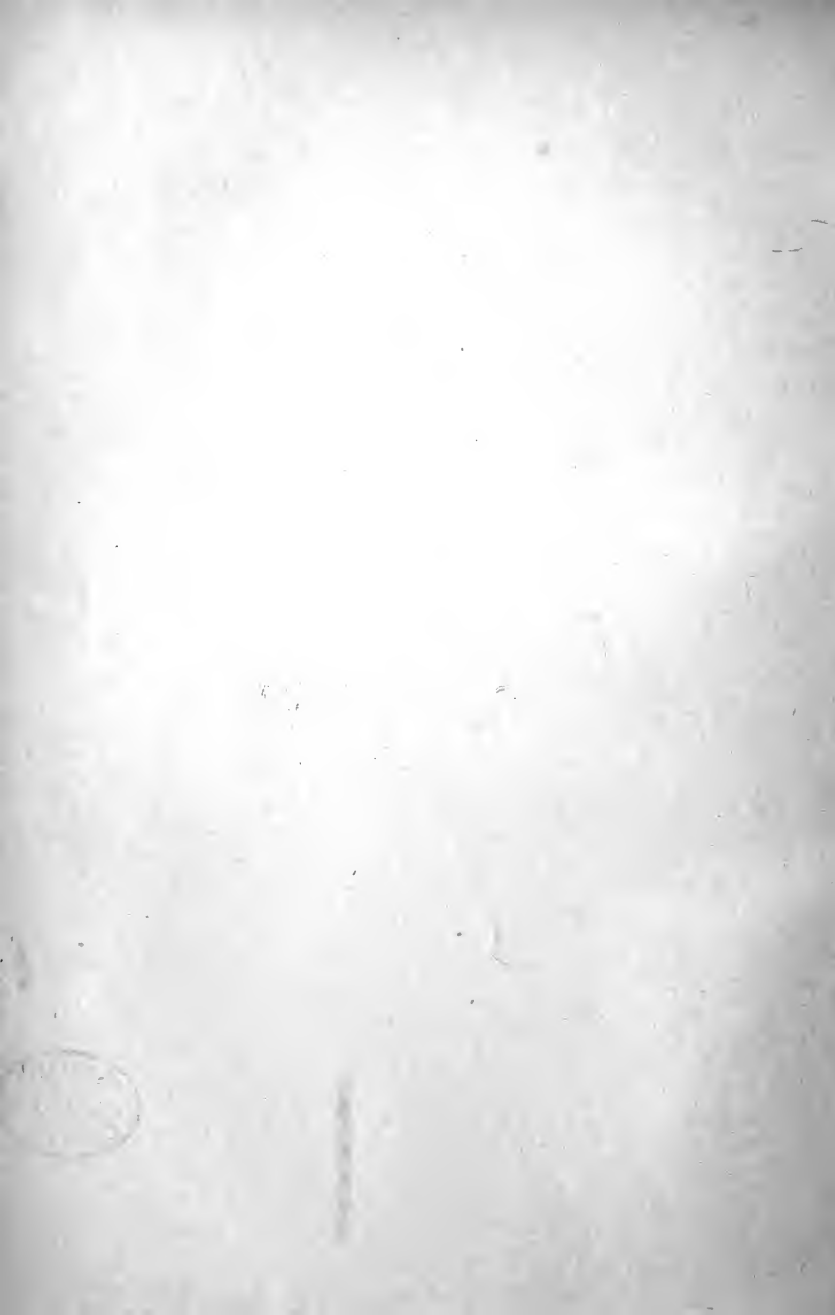
Raphael died on Good Friday, April 6—his birthday,—1520, having been taken ill on March the 28th.



Alinari photo]

[Uffizi Gallery, Florence

PORTRAIT OF HIMSELF



Vasari tells that the body was carried into the painting-room, and the unfinished "Transfiguration" placed at the head of the bier. The resting-place chosen by the painter himself, was in the Pantheon, and there his bones rested till the Italians dug them up to look at them in 1833. After a month, during which plaster casts were made, they were re-buried. To Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni, Raphael bequeathed his drawings and artistic possessions, and to them was left the task of finishing his incomplete works. A sum equal to £33,000 of our money is said to have been left by Raphael. After bequests to servants, and to the Church for keeping up the chapel in the Pantheon where he was buried, and the provision for his beloved one, his fortune was left to his relations at Urbino. I cannot better end this brief and imperfect account of the great genius and lovable man than by quoting Vasari's words, in which he sums up the character of Raphael:—

"And in addition to the benefits which this great master conferred on art, being as he was its best friend, we have the further obligation to him of having taught us by his life in what manner we should comport ourselves towards great men, as well as towards those of lower degree, and even towards the lowest; nay, there was among his many extraordinary gifts one of such value and importance, that I can never sufficiently admire it, and always think thereof with astonishment. This was the power accorded to him by Heaven, of bringing all who approached his presence into harmony; an effect inconceivably surprising in our calling, and contrary to the nature of our artists. Yet all, I do not say of the inferior grades only, but even those who lay claim to be great personages (and of this humour our art produces immense numbers), became as of one mind, once they began to labour in the society of Raphael, continuing in such unity and concord, that

all harsh feelings and evil dispositions became subdued and disappeared at the sight of him ; every vile and base thought departing from the mind before his influence. Such harmony prevailed at no other time than his own. And this happened because all were surpassed by him in friendly courtesy as well as in art ; all confessed the influence of his sweet and gracious nature, which was so replete with excellence, and so perfect in all the charities, that not only was he honoured by men, but even by the very animals, who would constantly follow his steps and always loved him."



Hanfstaengl photo]

[National Gallery, London

ST. CATHERINE



CHAPTER III

THE ARTIST

BEFORE discussing Raphael's pictures in detail, I think it will be best first to consider his individual peculiarities of form, colour, and composition. It is by these technical means that a painter expresses his thought and emotion, and without a right understanding of them we cannot come entirely within his influence. I believe that those who best understand Shakespeare would say that to extract the full depth of his meaning one must go deeper than an appreciation of the general sense of the lines. Rhythmic structure, choice of words, and forms of construction, reveal the innermost thoughts, which often do not impress us to the full if only the general effect is studied.

So I hold that the study of an artist's peculiarities of drawing and painting are as necessary to the general student as to one who is himself engaged in painting. The study of technicalities by those who have had no training at all in the use of pencil and brushes is beset with difficulties. Too often people are apt to set down as "out of drawing" any form which has not come under their own limited and ill-trained observation. At the same time they pass by unnoticed deviations from accuracy for the same reason.

FORM

In studying Raphael's sense of form one cannot but be struck by his keen feeling for the proportion and harmony of the human body, by his wonderful feeling for all the beauties resulting from well-ordered movement. At the same time it is curious to note how indifferent he seems to have been to those minute subtleties of form which were searched after with such success by the great Florentines. The best way to appreciate this fact is to put side by side a photograph of, say, the "Apollo" from the "Parnassus," of the *stanze*, with one of the single figures of young men from the roof of the Sistine. For this comparison silver-print photographs are the best, as they are clearer than any others—process reproductions are too much blurred to be of much use for a minute examination. If this is done we shall find that, for general harmony of line, for perfect balance of mass, and for noble grace, this figure of Apollo is hard to match.

The more one studies this figure by itself, either apart from its surroundings or in relation to them, the more one is struck by the unerring rightness with which the whole is conceived and executed. How perfectly balanced is the disposition of the limbs and yet how unconstrained. The lights fall naturally in exactly the places which require emphasis. This perfection of balance in the form of the figure gives the "Apollo" its grand serenity. But turn now from these generalities and examine the actual flow of the lines. Let us take the outline of the flank which is silhouetted against the sky. Two bold curves com-



Alinari photo]

[Vatican, Rome

APOLLO

(From the Camera della Segnatura)

plete this outline. How differently Michelangelo treats a form of this nature. Take the corresponding part of the figure holding up a medallion, next to the bottom corner of "Noah's Sacrifice," on the Sistine ceiling. Instead of the sweeping and indiscriminating curves we find a subtle line in which the softness of the general curve is corrected by flattened parts. As in the outline so in the modelling. Apollo's muscles are rounded, and his cheeks almost puffy, while in the Sistine figure the roundness is vitalised by flat surfaces and bony prominences. The hands, too, of the Apollo tell tales of weak draughtsmanship, and betray a lack of interest in form for form's sake.

Not that Raphael could not draw hands if he chose. There exists at Oxford an early drawing of a head for the San Severo fresco, and on the same paper is the drawing of a hand foreshortened, which is most beautifully felt. Many other fine hands could be cited, but also many that are indifferent. It is just because he could draw good hands, but often did not, that we find the indication that abstract form was not the ruling passion with Raphael, as it was with Michelangelo. This minute comparison has not been for the sake of disparagement, but for the sake of showing in what direction Raphael's special predilections led him. For without understanding the direction of his mind we cannot hope to feel its influence truly. Before leaving the figure of the "Apollo" let us compare the drawing from the model which exists in the museum at Lille. This most beautiful drawing is of great interest in showing the way in which Raphael altered the transcript from nature so as to give it the weight and

grandeur required for the central figure in a great decorative work.

To begin with the head. It must be admitted at once that the face in the drawing is more beautiful than the face in the fresco. But this face looking down could never have dominated Parnassus, and one feels that Raphael was perfectly right to turn it upwards and thus give an expression of rapture proclaiming the god of poetry and music. To add to the dignity of the head the painter devised a crown of bays, which, with the leaves below the left arm, are a good example of Raphael's faultless sense of pattern. The procedure noted with regard to the head has been carried out with the rest of the figure. Everywhere is visible the process by which monumental grandeur has been attained, by amplifying the forms and generalising the details. If some of the freshness and accent of the drawing has disappeared, a new element of dignity has taken their place.

An exact transcript of the drawing would have been perfectly in place in a simple composition, in an easel picture. But Raphael's unerring instinct for appropriateness compelled him to treat his material in the way described.

Among Italian painters none were so preoccupied by questions of form as were the Florentines. Indeed, the expression of form either by outline or modelling may be said to be the distinguishing characteristic of their school. To this passion for the realisation of the shapes of things, other considerations were sacrificed. In Venice, on the other hand, it was the problems of coloured light which interested the artists, and the



[Lille Museum]

STUDY FOR APOLLO, IN THE "PARNASSUS"



study of atmosphere. It is true that Leonardo penetrated deep into the problems of the airy surrounding of things seen. But even he approached the subject more from its bearing upon form than upon colour. The school to which Raphael belonged, the Umbrian, was much more in sympathy with the Venetians than with the Florentines. To him a figure primarily belonged to its surroundings. It might be the principal part, but it always remained a part of the whole. The group was always to him more important than the individual. Thus in his works we never get that "extreme characteristic impression" of individual life, as we do in Florentine work. Let us return to the two figures already compared—the "Apollo" and the Sistine figure—to emphasise the point. In Michelangelo's body we feel its life in every form, straining in the tense muscles, and resting in those that are relaxed. In every part of the figure we are made to feel the living, moving organism. Our own muscles contract and expand in sympathy, we feel the vital force within, which sets going this wonder-work of movement. With Raphael the impression produced is quite different. When the painter had represented enough of the structure of the body to make his "Apollo" a living thing he stopped. His preoccupation was that his figure should fill a noble and rhythmic space in the design of the whole work. To have insisted on the inner life of the body would have taken off our attention from the serenity with which the god harmoniously dominates his surroundings.

The two artists had each his own individual message,

Michelangelo could not have impressed the world with his deep spiritual emotions without his particular way of treating the human form, nor could Raphael have created his world of noble joyousness and humanity, had he not made the forms subservient to an all-pervading harmony. Different ideals require different technical methods, and it is as unthinking to say that Raphael was an inferior artist because his power of drawing was not so great as that of Michelangelo, as it is to say that Mozart was an inferior dramatist to Wagner because he did not find it necessary to modify the regular construction of his musical forms for dramatic requirements. The question really to be considered is whether an artist does perfectly the thing he sets out to do, not whether he proceeds in a different way from some other master.

The fact that Raphael was so very much more interested in the general expression of his figures, and their harmonious disposition as parts of a whole, than by the expressiveness of detailed form, made it easy for him to employ assistants. We know that Michelangelo, forced into fresco painting against his will by the Pope, tried to get his designs painted by Florentine assistants. The result could only be that the inferior men spoilt the forms, and made tame and meaningless the pointed and expressive work they were set to copy. Michelangelo locked the doors against his assistants, cleared the walls of their work, and set himself to recover the practice of fresco painting neglected by him since he worked under Ghirlandaio.

It would be a mistake to attribute Raphael's power of using helpers, and Michelangelo's failure to do so,

merely to the genial disposition of the one, and the impatience of the other. Raphael was so taken up with the main idea of decoration—that is, the filling the spaces chosen to be decorated with compositions perfectly in harmony with their structural surroundings, that he was betrayed into the use of assistants. No doubt the painter, goaded on by the masterful Julius, sought help from inferiors so that the work might go on more quickly. Still, it is evident that Raphael did not feel the absolute incompatibility between his creations and their execution by inferior hands, as did Michelangelo.

Although scholars were able in a way to help Raphael, one cannot but regret greatly that he did make use of them. Even if the works which he painted with his own hand fall short, in these last refinements of drawing, to the works of Leonardo and Michelangelo, how vastly superior they are in this respect to the work done by the cloud of assistants which towards the end obscured the sun's light.

COLOUR

If Raphael was as a draughtsman not comparable to the greatest Florentines, he was easily their superior as a colourist and a painter, whether in oil or fresco. The Umbrians were artistically the relations of the Venetians, and though they never equalled the dwellers on the lagoons in knowledge of the mysteries of colour, they looked upon this portion of the painter's art in a totally different way from the Tuscans.

The tendency of the latter was to approach their

work, whether a wall-painting or an easel-picture, from the point of view of form and arrangement first of all. When these had been settled, the design was coloured, but the two processes were separate and the second subordinate. With the Venetians the procedure was different. What gives such incomparable charm to their painting is the feeling that they planned and composed in colour just as much as in form. Indeed, they may almost be said to have thought out their pictures in balanced colour and mass, and allowed line to take care of itself.

In the subtler quality of actual painting and the rightness of feeling for the material the Venetians were unsurpassed. Perugino attained to a higher realisation of these qualities than did his contemporaries in Florence, if we except Leonardo. It would be difficult to point to a piece of Florentine painting equal in its sentiment for paint and colour to the Triptych of Perugino in the National Gallery. It would be easy to point to many works of contemporary Tuscans superior in appreciation of form.

Raphael was the inheritor from his master and his countrymen of all that was worthy in their school. As a colourist Raphael was second only to the greatest Venetians in splendour. The "Miracle of Bolsena" fulfils the highest requirements of the colourist, for without obviously intense passages of colour the whole work glows and shines. While inferior works never let us forget that the light and colour we see in them are external and reflected from the surface, a masterpiece like that just instanced seems to radiate its beauties of coloured light from within.



Neurdein frères photo]

[Louvre, Paris

BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE

In certain of his pictures Raphael struck out a line in colouring which was original and which pointed to the direction in which colour was to be developed in modern times.

In the portrait of Baldassare Castiglione in the Louvre there is a use of cool greys and blacks which is unlike contemporary work. In the "Miracle of Bolsena" there is one of the most modern and subtle pieces of painting relying for its effect on the realisation of delicate values and colour. I refer to two of the heads of the kneeling chair-bearers of the Pope. These heads, strongly characterised as they are, depend for their strength on a perfect balance being struck between the warm flesh tones and the cool wall behind. Few other painters have so successfully introduced white draperies into their colour schemes as Raphael has done. In the fresco just named the white of the surplices of the priest and the Pope, as well as those of the choristers holding the tapers, produces an effect of the most beautiful harmony instead of looking a spot as is so often the case. Again in the "Sibylls," in Sta. M. della Pace, the winged figure on the left of the central arch is clad in a white drapery which is radiant and at the same time melts in complete accord into the dark surroundings.

COMPOSITION

If Raphael was excelled by the Florentines in appreciation of the inner mysteries of form, and surpassed by the Venetians in the crowning glories of colour, there remains one domain of art in which he reigns supreme. In composition no one before or after

has even approached to within a distance which makes comparison possible. I do not mean for a moment to suggest that there are not plenty of instances, ancient and modern, of supremely good composition. But no other painter ever so habitually showed such complete mastery over the art. It matters not to Raphael whether he is using one figure or twenty, whether his space is rectangular, circular, or both, and lopsided also. In every instance the given space is filled with a pattern of figures exactly suitable to the decorative requirements and to the true expression of the sentiment of the work.

It made no difference to him when thinking out the "Miracle of Bolsena" that the window in the wall to be painted was not in the centre, leaving but a narrow strip on one side. The irregularity of the space was so turned to account that we feel that for the proper expression of the conception a wall of this shape had to be found. Hitherto I have spoken only of the pattern of the picture in two dimensions, height and breadth. With the use of these two many artists have stopped. But Raphael proceeded farther, and used also depth in relation to composition. Mr Berenson may claim the credit of stating this clearly for the first time, in his work on the "Central Italian Painters." He has aptly called this of which I speak "Space Composition." Mr Berenson points out that this space composition was the peculiar heritage of the Umbrians, and that Perugino was a master of the art in his own way, but that it was left for Raphael to develop it to the full. Before going any farther I want to make quite clear to the reader what I understand by space composition.

Imagine a window in a room looking out on a lawn, and consider the opening of the window as the picture, and the window frame as the picture's frame. Now imagine three people, whose figures have to be composed into a group in this window opening. Firstly, let us arrange them standing in a row side by side, and all in the same plane. This I should call composing the figures in *breadth*; but now make one of the figures stand on a chair (always in the same plane), and we get composition in *height* as well, for upon the difference in the heights of the figures will the composition or pattern depend. Whether the appearance of the picture so far will be good or not depends on the skill displayed in the arrangement.

If the distances between the figures and the sides of the window are well planned, the composition, in *breadth*, will be good; if the various altitudes of the figures are harmoniously disposed, the composition, in *height*, will satisfy us. But now comes in *depth*. To compose in the third dimension the figures must be no longer in the same plane. Let one of the figures stand by the window, and let the others go out on to the lawn behind at different distances from the window. Now *wherever* the figures stand we shall have the effect of *depth*, but we shall only have composition—that is, harmonious arrangement—in *depth* if the figures are placed at well-ordered distances. But this is not all. The figure at the far end of the lawn makes me able to mark off mentally and realise the space between it and the one nearer to my eye. So that it is not only the arrangement of the figures themselves that has to be considered but the disposition of the spaces between

them. It is from this aspect of the question that Mr Berenson derived the name of space composition.

It will be seen from this analysis that space composition and the mere rendering of distant objects are two totally different things. Distance may be faithfully expressed in a picture without an attempt at space composition. For this art consists not only in showing objects behind one another, but in so arranging them that the spaces between them are disposed with that regard to rhythm which is the basis of the whole art of composition. There have been other space composers besides Raphael. Perugino, as Mr Berenson points out, was a master of this art when it concerned the deep dome of his skies and the distant light on the horizon.

In the early works of Raphael, the Peruginesque aspects of space composition are most noticeable. We need not go farther than the National Gallery to fall under the spell, which only this form of composition can create. The "Madonna Ansidei," painted when the artist was twenty-three years of age, and when he was still lingering in Umbria, is a notable instance of that peace and far-away feeling that only comes of the perfection of composition in all its branches. The figures across the picture are composed in *breadth*, in *height* also, by raising up the Madonna on a throne; but without *depth* how formal and tame the picture would be. The steps of the throne in front, the quiet architecture behind, and again, behind that, the distant hills and the light on the horizon, form a rhythmic succession of distances, such as only one man has known how to construct.

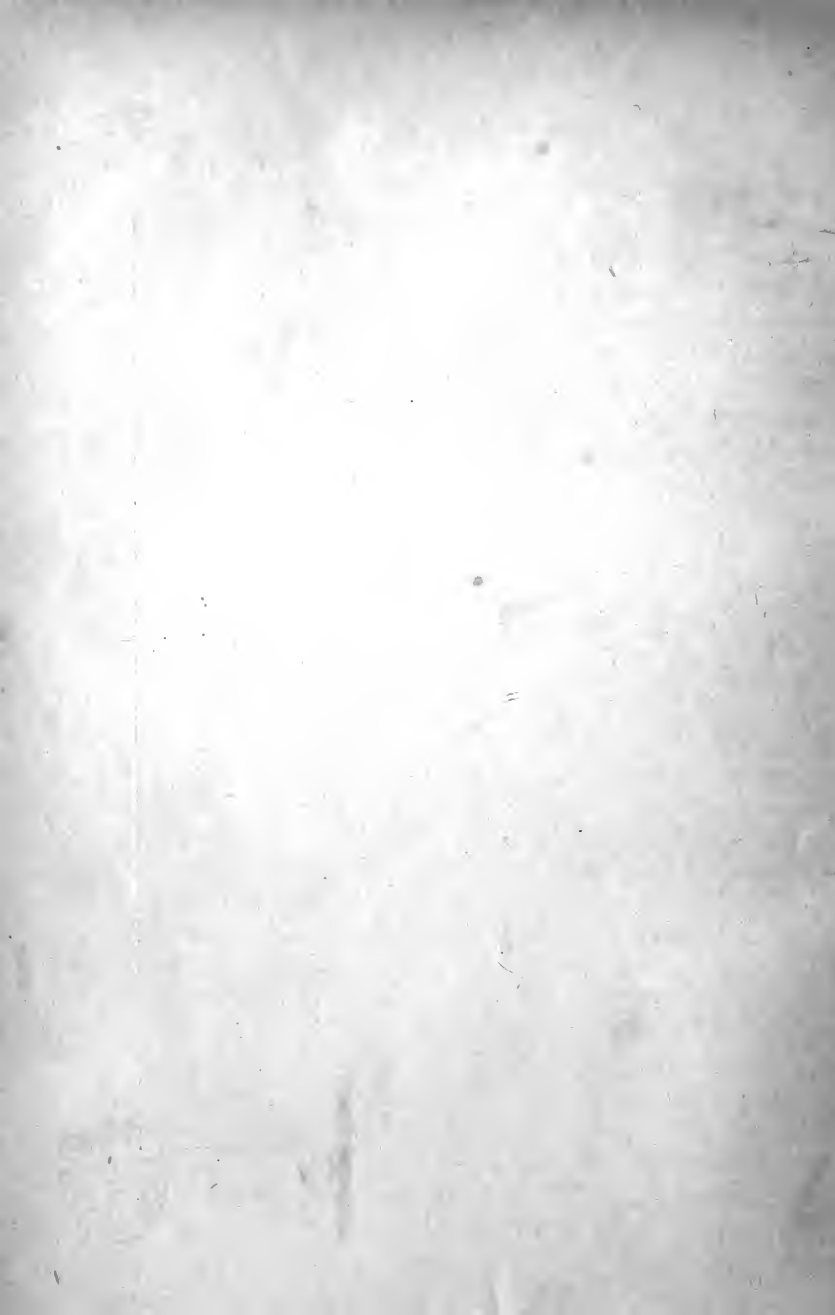
The difficulty of describing so subtle a quality in



Alinari photo

THE CAMERA DELLA SEGNATURA,
SHOWING THE PARNASSUS AND PART OF THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS

[Vatican, Rome]



words is great. But this is the drawback that lies at the root of all writing on the subject of art. There is no such thing as demonstration, for all that is most essential in painting lies beyond the region of words.

We will now take an example of space composition of a very different kind. Although the "School of Athens" was painted at most some four or five years later than the "Madonna Ansidei," the change of style was complete. From a *primitive*, Raphael had changed into a leader of the full freedom of the Renaissance. Hardly anything remains the same. One might almost say that the only constant element was space composition. The formality of the early use of the other forms of composition had entirely given way to a new art of grouping figures in such a manner that individuals no longer predominated; groups of figures welded together with an ease and grace never thought of before; yet harmonising all this new art is the old power of treating the spaces which divide the constituent parts of the picture.

The building in which this congress of philosophers takes place is a vast and airy hall, the architecture of which, Vasari says, Raphael owed to Bramante. If Bramante suggested the proportions and lines of the building, we may be quite sure that no one but Raphael disposed the light and shade, for it is by this disposition that the spaces are controlled and harmonised. Although no horizon is visible, the blue sky with white floating clouds carries the eye away to infinite distance. But this distance is so finely expressed—that is, its spiritual rather than its physical effect—that there is no violation of the law of decoration which forbids too great realism

in expressing distance for fear of cutting holes in the wall. How great must have been the difficulty of producing the exact tones required for this delicate business of making one object stand just the right distance behind another. In an oil painting slight modifications are easy, but with a fresco of this size the difficulties must have been great. Only by the possession of some high quality of calculating the effect of each piece as the work proceeded, can such an achievement be accounted for.

A fresco has to be painted piecemeal, as the plaster only remains wet enough to work on for a day, any re-painting has to be done by cutting out the old work and re-plastering. A little can be done by re-touching with tempera paint—that is, the colour ground with yolk of egg. This can be best applied in lines and not in washes, and is more useful for emphasising the drawing of details than for painting large masses.

DECORATION

The three great works of Raphael in Rome are the *stanze* at the Vatican; the "Sibylls," at Sta. M. della Pace; the "Galatea" and the "Cupid and Psyche," series at the Farnesina. These works are all in fresco, and were all painted for the purpose of decorating the buildings on the walls of which they were painted. Before considering these works in detail let us consider what are the guiding principles of wall decoration.

In the first place, the decorator must accept loyally the conditions left by the architect. Before all things he must consider how his compositions are to be made



[Windsor Castle]

STUDY FOR "POETRY"



a part of the structure, so that they seem to be the logical completion of the work and not an excrescence.

To use a metaphor, the building is the tree with its branches and leaves, the painted decoration the flowers and fruit. Just as there is continuity in a building from its structure so there must be continuity in the decoration. This continuity ought to show itself in idea, in form, in colour, and in composition, one thought logically carried out into all the parts; the colour should be harmonious and continuous, and the composition or pattern of the designs should be compatible one with another.

If we take the "Camera della Segnatura," and study it bit by bit, I think we shall be able to show that all the conditions just laid down are carried out with the most perfect art.

On the vaulted ceiling are four circular panels. In these are the symbolical figures of "Theology," "Philosophy," "Poetry," and "Justice." From these elemental conceptions are developed the motives which inspire the rest of the painting. In the four pendentives of the roof between the arched walls of the room are four small compositions. "Theology" is illustrated by "Adam and Eve"; "Philosophy" by a genius surveying the "Heavenly Bodies"; "Poetry" by "Apollo and Marsyas"; while "Justice" finds its illustration in the "Judgment of Solomon." We now come to the great wall frescoes. Here, again, we observe the same connection. "The Disputa," "The School of Athens," the "Parnassus," and the three grouped frescoes round the window opposite to the "Parnassus." These are, in the lunette over the window, the allegory of "Juris-

prudence," three grand figures of women symbolising Force, Prudence, and Temperance. Below the lunette, and on the right of the window, Gregory the IV. gives the decretals to a jurisconsult (ecclesiastical law); while on the left Justinian gives to Trebonian his Institutes (civil law).

So from their sources on the ceiling we can trace from the abstract to the concrete, from heaven to earth, the great forces of the human mind. Religion passing through Bible story is shown in a vision of the saints on earth surrounding the altar of the church, while above, in actual presence of the Redeemer, are ranged the glorious company of heaven.

The name of the great composition of the Philosophers, "The School of Athens," is an invention of the last century, and is curiously inappropriate, the whole point of the idea being the union of philosophers of all times and ages. Vasari gives a highly-confused account of the work, and says that in it, "Theologians engaged in the reconciliation of Philosophy and Astrology with Theology . . . , there are certain astrologers standing apart who have made figures and characters of geomancy and astrology, on tablets which they send by beautiful angels to the evangelists, who explain them." It is mathematics rather than astrology that Raphael has represented, and this passage shows that Vasari, like many others, was fond of fitting the figures in a picture with neatly-arranged explanations. In the "Parnassus" Raphael has shown us the poets of all time collected together within sound of Apollo's viol. Dante shares with Homer the highest stage of the hierarchy. In this fresco there is an all-pervading sense



Alinari photo

THE CAMERA DELLA SEGNAURA,
SHOWING THE DISPUTA AND PART OF THE JURISPRUDENCE

Vatican, Rome

of grace and beauty of a joyous kind, as appropriate to the subject, as is the more solemn harmony pervading the groups of philosophers in the "School of Athens." The three women in the "Jurisprudence" show that Raphael could build up his picture from a few figures with just as impressive a result as when he marshalled a multitude. Nothing can exceed the grand beauty of these women. Prudence, with two faces, looks before and after. Temperance, or Moderation, as she may be fitly called from her expression of sweet reasonableness, holds a bridle, while Fortitude, or Force, whichever we call her, sits sheathed in breastplate and helmet holding an oak sapling, the symbol of strength, and a courtly reference to the badge of the reigning Della Rovere Pope. It is the merit of painting that its meaning is so much more vague than that of words. It is a mistake to try to restrict within too close limits the interpretation of a picture like the one we are discussing. This allegory of Jurisprudence may quite as well be applied to the individual as to the universe. It may be ourselves who are to be moderate, steadfast, and prudent; or it may be that Justice looks all ways, so that nothing escapes her; she restrains those without self-control, and is resistless in her force to strike down oppression. It matters not which explanation we take, for the greatest art is not limited to the particular, and deals with primal forces. Such vagueness is no shortcoming on the part of the painter, but rather an exhibition of his greatness; for he has pierced beyond the actual to the infinite.

Leaving "Jurisprudence" against the clear sky we come down to the Emperor and Pope who dispense laws civil and ecclesiastical to men. As we are well

down upon the earth, portraiture becomes appropriate. The Pope is Julius II., and the cardinals surrounding him are these men who walked through the room while the painter was at work. The composition of the Emperor Justinian is of less importance than the other ; portraiture has here been replaced by a statuesque dignity.

From this survey we see that the decorations of the "Camera della Segnatura" form a consistent whole in regard to their inspiring motives. But, however perfect the thought may be, it is of no avail unless the painter's hand has complete accomplishment, so that the thought may be made manifest in fresco. That Raphael had this technical ability, this room bears witness. Apart from other qualities nowhere is there to be found finer fresco painting except in one place, and that is in the adjoining room, for even the painting of the "Disputà," and the "Poetry," on the roof, is excelled in mere splendour of execution by the "Miracle of Bolsena."

It seems hopeless to try to give any description in words of this wonderful painted poem which covers roof and walls of the "Camera della Segnatura," for to describe only means picking out the things which can be put into words, and these are the very parts which are the least essential to works of art. I have already insisted on this, and shall be always returning to the theme, for I hold that there can be no true appreciation of painting unless it is admitted and felt that all that is most essential in a picture lies outside the region of words.

Painting holds a middle place between literature and music. In literature words and definite ideas are a



Alinari photo]

[Vatican, Rome

POETRY

(From the Camera della Segnatura)



necessity, in sonatas, quartettes, and symphonies they have no place at all; absolute music being dependent for its conception upon nothing in the tangible world. Painting, however, occupies a position which partakes both of literature and music; it has to concern itself with reason, because it has to make its appeal to the emotions by means of visible things, and these the human intellect can discuss. We can analyse and argue about a human figure or a landscape in a picture, discuss the probable nature of the one and the geology of the other. But what can we say of the subject of a symphony except that it is in such and such a key and time; it appeals to the emotions of the soul, leaving unaffected the reasoning powers. Painting also affects these fundamental emotions which have no expression in words, but to make this emotion felt it uses reason. Whether this fact places painting higher or lower than music is a matter of opinion; and the taste and temperament of the champion of either art will probably influence his decision. In all matters of art, at the end we come back to the personal like or dislike, upon which reason has as little effect as a mould has upon quicksilver. A passionate belief in the reality of his artistic emotion takes the place of all reasoning in the true lover of art.

Having given my reasons for believing that descriptions of pictures are useless, and feeling that a schedule of their beauties, like the schedule of the Lady Olivia's face, is of little interest, I now proceed to offer some remarks on the technical means employed by Raphael, by which we can get a glimpse into his method of organic construction of a great scheme of decoration.

In the composition of the "Disputà" Raphael is still thinking of the Umbrian tradition. One priceless inheritance which he had received from Perugino, was the realisation that the sky was not a flat background, but was the "deep domed empyrean." In his Florentine Madonnas the painter had realised this, but when he built up the splendid structure of the "Disputà," he attained to the full expression of the depth and space of the sky. Never again was Raphael destined to do this in quite so perfect a manner. Not that he tried and failed, but, like all really great minds, the invitation to "fresh woods and pastures new" was perpetually ringing in his ears. In the "Disputà" zones of figures rise tier above tier from the saints on earth to the saints in heaven, and to the choirs of angels surrounding the Trinity. Each of these zones is a part of a circle, the farthest point from the eye being in the centre of the whole composition. This arrangement produces the effect of an apse, which is built in the heavens.

Nowhere else has Raphael produced a finer composition of spaces, and the key to this harmony is to be found in this presentment of the hollow of the sky. Raphael has shown his perfect sense of appropriateness in the way he has differenced the two groups of saints. Those in heaven have a greater serenity, and a greater simplicity of movement and of grouping than those on earth. On earth the figures on each side of the altar are grouped in irregular masses, here and there individuals stand out from the rest. The effect of the whole is varied, and there is plenty of movement. When the eye ascends to a higher level, to the saints

in heaven surrounding the Godhead, the diversified movement ceases. Instead of groups of irregular sizes the saints sit in a curved row at equal distances from each other. Thoughtful faces and solemn gestures characterise this noble series of figures, the dignity of each one of which is as impressive as it is natural. Above these saints the lines become still more formal. Three prominent angels on each side, of great beauty, fly in front of a number of lines radiating from a point unseen, while behind these are crowds of winged children. The colour of this fresco is singularly rich and harmonious, and in every way contributes to the majesty of the whole. Among the saints on the right-hand side is a head of a monk generally supposed to be that of Savonarola. There is nothing unlikely in this, as the great Florentine reformer had been burnt by the orders of Alexander VI., and the revulsion of feeling against the proceedings of the latter was naturally strong.

On the wall facing the "Disputà" is the "School of Athens." The subject of this work—a congress of the philosophers of the world—demanded entirely different technical qualities from that of the "Disputà." Instead of the dome of the open sky an echoing hall encloses the composition. Instead of the ecstasy of faith a philosophic calm is over the scene. The architectural background plays a great part in this effect. If Bramante did give Raphael a design to found this hall upon it was the painter who disposed the light and shade, and who emphasised certain forms and left others vague. In the "School of Athens" Raphael reached the full development of his powers as an artist. He showed

in it that the greatest master of composition the world has seen, had arrived. If in draughtsmanship Raphael cannot be called the equal of Michelangelo, he at least drew so skilfully that his figures are perfect in action and noble in proportion. In the power of characterisation Raphael is second to none. In what other single work can be found so many expressive heads as in this. Time has dealt hardly with this fresco, but when we come to the "Miracle of Bolsena," in the next room, we shall see that its painter was the greatest master of fresco painting that Italy produced.

People have sometimes speculated as to how the youthful Urbinate could have known so much about the Greek philosophers as to have given such appropriateness to the figures of Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, and others. No one of the learned men, Bembo, Bibiena, or Castiglione, was in Rome to give advice to their friend. Some critics have gone so far as to think that a learned man stood at the painter's elbow all the time that he was composing the painted poem of this "Camera." But if the humanists advised Raphael, and supplied him with ideas, they would in all probability have done the same to other painters; but we fail to find a rival in fineness of conception to this room. It seems to me quite easy to understand how Raphael gathered information concerning the Greek philosophers. How he was able to realise this miracle of composition is much harder to imagine.

The "School of Athens" is one of the most modern pictures that the Renaissance produced. When we look at it mediævalism seems never to have existed, and

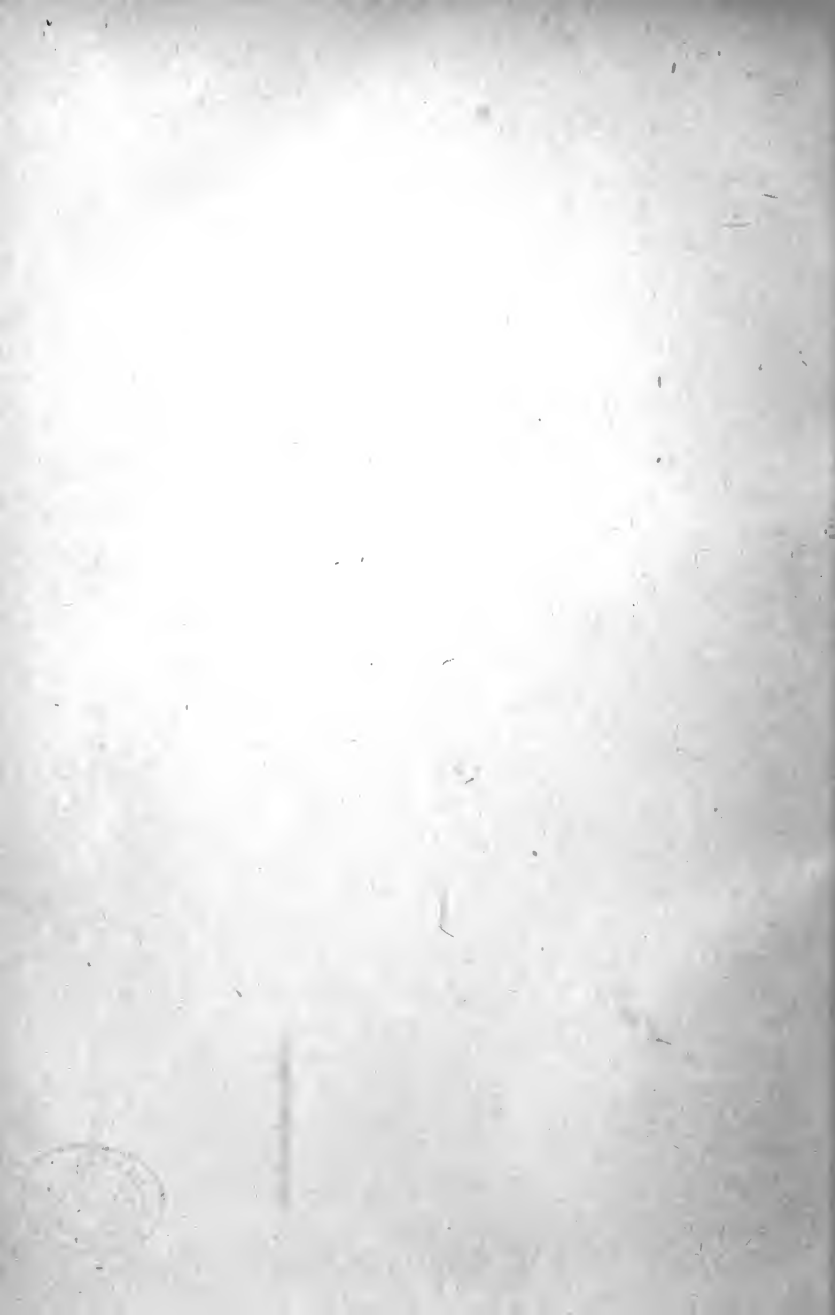


Alinari photo]

[Vatican, Rome

ASTRONOMY

(From the Camera della Segnatura)



we seem far more closely in touch with the mind that produced this work than with those who lived in the two centuries which lie between the sixteenth and the nineteenth.

The "Parnassus" has been compared to Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony, an idyll in which pure beauty predominates over the other qualities. There is truth in this, though it must not be assumed that this serene beauty is easier to achieve, or of less value when reached, than the more sublime compositions. In the "Parnassus" Raphael first showed his power of filling awkward spaces. The lower part of the wall on which it is painted is broken by a window which is not in the middle. But this irregularity only provides Raphael with an opportunity of enhancing the beauty of his composition. In the narrow space on the right the figures, standing and sitting, draw together, and, though not compressed by the narrow space, they are in sympathy with it. On the other side the figures widen out and fill with equal beauty the broader space.

I have already spoken of the "Apollo" of this picture, and need now only point out the figure of Sappho, which is one of those grand figures of women which Raphael knew so well how to paint. Facing the "Parnassus," and over the window at the other end of the room, is the allegory of "Jurisprudence." Here again are three women worthy to rank with the noblest ever painted. In fact, I think they have but once been equalled in their particular qualities, and then only by the "Sibylls," which Raphael painted a little later. To the sublimity of the women of the Sistine vault

Raphael added a graciousness and kindliness all his own.

Below the lunette on the right we mark the advent of portraiture in Raphael's decorative work, which was henceforth to play such an important part. Julius and his cardinals show that the man who could construct ideal compositions and imagine abstract beauty could also penetrate deeply into character, and portray real men with striking power. In the "Jurisprudence" the art of Raphael reached its zenith as far as grand simplicity was concerned; although he painted the "Madonna di San Sisto" afterwards, he only produced equal, not superior grandeur of form and arrangement, though in the later work we find a deeper spirituality than in the earlier.

I have insisted on the wonderful unity of thought in this room; and would also insist on the perfection of the technical achievement as regards decorative effect. A small thing may be mentioned as significant. The background of the four symbolical figures on the roof is, not sky, but gold mosaic; the same is the case with the four little compositions on the pendentives. No actual sky is used till the four great walls are reached. This was doubtlessly done so that the prelude might be subordinate to the drama.

The following interesting quotation from Sir Joshua Reynolds' eleventh discourse states admirably Raphael's power of "adjustment of the whole" as regards form:—

"The most considerable and the most esteemed works of Raffaele are the Cartoons, and his Fresco works in the Vatican; those, as we all know, are far from being minutely finished; his principal care and attention seems to have been fixed upon



Alinari photo]

[Vatican, Rome

JUSTICE

(From the Camera della Segnatura)

the adjustment of the whole, though, in regard to the general work to which it belongs, it is but a part ; the same may be said of the head, of the hands, and feet. Though he possessed this art of seeing and comprehending the whole, as far as form is concerned, he did not exert the same faculty in regard to the general effect, which is presented to the eye by colour, and light and shade. Of this deficiency of his oil pictures, where this excellence is more expected than in Fresco, is a sufficient proof. . . .

“Raffaello and Titian seem to have looked at Nature for different purposes ; they both had the power of extending their view to the whole ; but one looked only for general effect as produced by form, the other as produced by colour.”

It is with great regret that we take leave of the “Camera della Segnatura,” for never again did Raphael attain to so faultless a unity of theme and achievement as here. Many were the causes that prevented him from rising again to such perfection of unity. The great obstacle which prevented the painter from making the second “Camera” equal to the first, was success.

When Julius handed over the first “Camera” to Raphael, he was an unknown young man of promise ; when he finished his first room, some two and a half years later, he was acknowledged to have but one possible rival in Italy—Michelangelo.

While the painter was unknown the Pope did not trouble about the subjects of the pictures, or how quickly they were done. When Julius found what manner of man he had to paint his walls for him, he was impatient to have more, and that quickly. Unfortunately, instead of allowing the poet to weave the ideal framework of the decoration of the next room to be painted, the artist was forced into painting the Triumphs of the Church for political reasons.

When we pass from the "Camera della Segnatura" to the "Camera d'Eliodoro," we pass from the highest form of ideal art to the art inspired by illustration.

By *illustration* I mean painting of which the motive is not an abstract one, like poetry or philosophy, but which, instead, occupies itself with making clear a story or incident.¹

To realise the difference between the motives of the paintings in the two "Camere" we have only to compare the titles of the works. The "School of Athens," "Parnassus," "Disputà," and "Jurisprudence," give place to "Heliodorus expelled from the Temple," "Peter loosed from Prison," "The Miracle of Bolsena," and "Attila turned back from Rome." It will be noted that all these subjects are symbolical of the divine protection of the Church. Heliodorus, in the act of robbing the sanctuary, is overthrown and trampled on by heavenly avengers. Peter, the first earthly head of the Church, is delivered from his bonds by an angel. The priest of Bolsena, who doubted the miracle of transubstantiation, is converted by the bleeding of the wafer. The Pope, Leo I., with the help of St. Peter and St. Paul, prevent Attila from entering Rome.

If these subjects did not touch the highest vein of poetry in Raphael's nature they brought forth in him the dramatic faculties which had as yet not made their appearance. Compare the frigid grief of the "Entombment" in the Borghese collection, painted at Florence, with the fire and rush of the ministers of wrath in the "Heliodorus."

¹ For a full and most able exposition of what is meant by *illustration*, I must refer my readers to Mr Berenson's "Central Italian Painters."



C. Naya photo

[Bologna]

ST. CECILIA



Another and far more serious problem has now to be considered than the change of subjects. I mean the advent of that band of scholars who enabled Raphael to finish such a huge mass of work, and yet who spoilt all they touched.

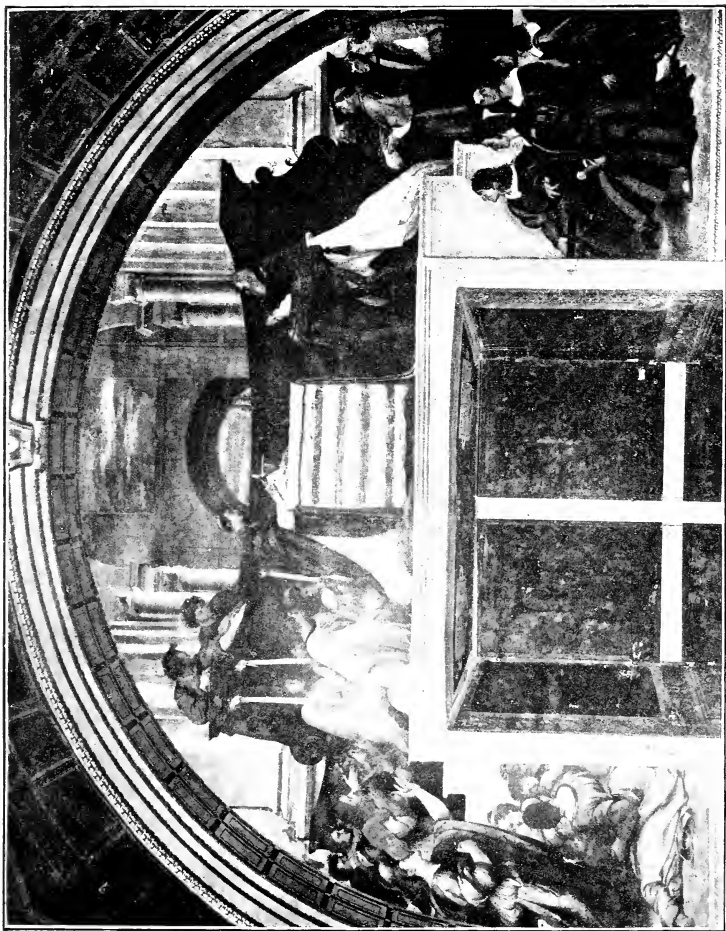
When Julius discovered what an artist he had got in Raphael, his first thought seems to have been how much wall space he could get covered with his designs. Little by little the evil grew, as the Pope became greedier for Raphael's work, till at last the assistants reigned supreme on the walls. No problem is more difficult to solve than to decide which parts were painted by the scholars in the "Camera d'Eliodoro." It seems to me, after reading the works of several important critics, that the most usual plan for the expert to pursue is to pick out of every fresco certain parts which he does not like and attribute them to the assistants. As the tastes of critics differ, the result is that by far the greater part of the frescoes are pronounced not to be by the hand of the master. In fact, I am sometimes led to wonder how Raphael managed to occupy his time in his last years, the learned having taken away from him so much of his work.

It is the fashion to attribute to Giulio Romano the whole of the execution of the "Peter loosed from Prison." This seems to me highly improbable. This fresco is one which contained effects of light which were by no means common at that time, and which up till then had not been attempted by Raphael himself. Is it probable that Raphael would have handed over to a very young assistant such a work as this, especially as it does not seem to have been

the master's plan to make careful studies of colour and light and shade. No such study exists for any work by Raphael, and without such it is difficult to think that Giulio Romano could have carried out this peculiarly difficult work even if Raphael gave advice. Upholders of the authorship of Giulio will no doubt point to many details of the execution, and deny that in them can be found the hand of Raphael. I would wish to point out that details which are not equal to Raphael at his best may still have been done by him when he was in a hurry and worried by the clamour of the Pope for more frescoes and by the courtiers for portraits and Madonnas, and when the general effect was absorbing his attention.

I am far from wishing to say that Raphael did paint this fresco with his own hand, all I want to insist on is the slender grounds upon which the denial rests. Really nothing is known for certain, and conjecture takes the place of fact.

No one doubts that the master did execute the group on the left of the "Heliodorus," in which Julius II. is being carried in his chair, or that the whole of the planning of the picture was due to him. It must remain a matter of uncertainty whether Giulio Romano executed the right-hand portion of the fresco as is so often asserted with so little proof. There is no doubt a difference of style visible between the figures of the Pope and his bearers and that of the running figures and the horseman. But is this difference a proof of a different hand? Is not it possible that Raphael felt that handling appropriate to the portraiture on the left side required modification when the ideal



Brogi photo

THE MIRACLE OF BOLSENA
(From the Camera d'Eliodoro)

Vatican, Rome



figures on the right came to be painted. The careful and subtle drawing of Marc Antonio's eyelids, lips, and drapery, had to be replaced by a more summary and vigorous execution when the fury and rush of the avenging angels had to be depicted, I have no desire to dogmatise on such a question, I only wish to show that it is extremely difficult to arrive at any conclusion, and that there is much to be said on both sides. Also I wish to warn readers against accepting too readily mere assertions copied one from another by writers unacquainted with the practice of painting.

In the fresco of the "Heliodorus" Raphael shows his extraordinary power of constructing a work which is equally perfect whether looked at as a design to fill a given space or as an expression of a dramatic moment. Nothing could better fill the space of the arched wall than this arrangement of architecture and figures. The columns running up out of sight with the vaulted Holy of Holies between them, gives the formal element so necessary in works of this kind. The groups of figures on either side are completely diverse in character but balanced in mass; while the great empty space of floor in the centre of the composition is of enormous effect, giving, as it does, the feeling of the desolating power of the ministers of justice who have swept through the building driving all before them. The colour is fine and rich, particularly so in the part in the centre of the work where gold mosaic domes glitter over the lights of the seven-branched candlestick beside the altar and praying high priest.

The composition of the "Attila" suggests a com-

parison with that of the "Disputà," inasmuch as architecture plays but a very subordinate part in it. In the earlier work Raphael built up a marvellous structure with figures, but in the later one the arrangement is open to the charge of confusion. We no longer feel the rhythm of form and the harmony of spaces as in the other works. The reticence displayed before has given way to overcrowding. The group of Leo X. and his attendants is fine, but nothing like that of Julius in the "Heliodorus"; the critics say, and I think with some show of reason, that only this group of the Pope and the two apostles in the sky are by the hand of Raphael. There is a head of an old man to the immediate right of the cross-bearer which is a fine piece of characterisation and painting. With a few strokes the face is realised, in a way which recalls the economy of means and brilliancy of result of some of Raphael's drawings done at this period.

The "Miracle of Bolsena" is the last wall-painting to be noticed in this "Camera."

It is perhaps the finest piece of painting that ever came from the hand of Raphael, regarded simply as a painting. As I have said already, there is a higher vein of poetry in the "Camera della Segnatura" than in the "Camera d'Eliodoro," but never did any painter in fresco equal in splendour of technique the "Miracle of Bolsena." The preservation of the fresco is excellent, and the harmony and richness of the colour is such that it might make a Venetian envious. Of the composition all that need be said is, that it is worthy of Raphael at his best. No fine parts can be picked out in this fresco, for it is all equal in quality, whether it be the



Alinari photo

THE MIRACLE OF BOLSENA

(DETAIL)

(from the Camera d'Eliodoro)

Vatican, Rome

grandeur of the flow of the Pope's robes, the fire and determination of his head, the perfect subordination and characterisation of the attendant cardinals, or the masculine vigour of the kneeling chair bearers. On the other side we have a wonderful group of white-robed choristers and the priest. White robes in a fresco are so apt to be thin and glaring, but here the perfect modulation of the tones makes this group of the greatest loveliness. Below, on the left hand side, a group of women add the element of beauty and grace which would otherwise have been wanting. When one sees what Raphael at the height of his powers was capable of performing, one cannot but lament bitterly that by the exercise of despotic power he was forced to dig up ruins and supervise building operations, instead of ministering to the glory of art and humanity.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle, in writing about the "Miracle of Bolsena," pronounce the following judgment: "The pencils of Raphael travelled from beginning to end over all the groups except that of the females on the left side of the picture, to which he probably gave but superficial touches." This rather sweeping assertion is left wholly unsupported by any argument. It is true that this group is different in execution from that on the other side, but this does not prove it by a different hand. If some one else painted the woman sitting on the ground Raphael had a dangerous rival.

In the compositions in this room, and in the one before, which contain architectural interiors, the same form of construction is used, whether it be the hall of the philosophers, the prison of Peter, the Temple at Jerusalem, or the church of Bolsena, columns or piers

rise on either side going out of the arched top of the fresco, dividing the space, roughly speaking, into three parts. In the "School of Athens," and in the "Heliodorus" and the "Bolsena," the central space is occupied with receding arches, while Peter's prison is lighted up by the angel, and framed by an arch. It was not poverty of invention that made Raphael repeat these main lines in four frescoes; rather, it was a feeling analogous to that which made Beethoven construct the gigantic finale of the Ninth Symphony, as a series of variations on a single theme.



Alinari photo

[Vatican, Rome]

THE MIRACLE OF BOLSENA

(DETAIL)

(From the Camera d'Eliodoro)



CHAPTER IV

THE CAMERA DEL INCENDIO AND OTHER WORKS

THIS room falls far below the previous one, for except in the "Incendio" fresco, it is difficult to say that Raphael took any actual part in the painting. Two court pageants, a battle, and a Papal miracle form the subjects of the pictures. It is hard to believe that the composition even of the "Leo III. taking the Oath before Charlemagne" is by Raphael. It seems like a mere travesty of the "Miracle of Bolsena." "The Coronation of Charlemagne" has more vigour of life in it, and we know that the master worked at drawings for the "Battle of Ostia"; one of them, a study for the figure on the extreme left of the fresco, was sent by Raphael to Albert Dürer, who wrote upon it that he had received it from Raphael. This interesting drawing is in the Albertina Collection at Vienna. In the "Incendio," we have the composition of Raphael in all its old strength, if not with quite all its old grace. The clearness of grouping absent from the "Attila" is here to be found in perfection. If some of the rather coarse painting of the foreground figures is due to the intervention of Giulio Romano and others, there can be little doubt of the presence of the master's hand in the crowd on the steps, supplicating the Pope. And it may be that a certain hardness and formality in the style of the other figures is the result of the beginning of that

decadence which was so shortly to overtake the whole of Italian painting. The following admirable summary of the art of the "Incendio," including the quotation from Taine, is taken from one of the notes to Vasari's "Life of Raphael," by Blashfield and Hopkins:—

"The figures attitudinise ; all this would-be agony leaves us indifferent, but nevertheless under and behind the exaggeration and the coldness is still the superb power of the Renaissance ; we are yet close to the life-giving force of Raphael. The background group is worthy of his greatest frescoes. Taine, who nearly always goes straight to the core and heart of a work, feels at once the factitiousness and the genuineness of the effect produced, and after smiling at the terrible fire which has nothing but stone to feed it, and at the parents who hand their child over a wall as tranquilly as if it were a bundle of cloth, he goes on to say : 'Why indeed should not frescoes be a complement of architecture? Is it not a mistake to consider them wholly by themselves? We must place ourselves at the same point of view as the painter in order to enter into his ideas ; and certainly such was the point of view of Raphael. The "Conflagration of the Borgo" is comprehended within the space of an ornament which has to be filled up. The "Parnassus" and the "Deliverance of Peter" surmount, one a door and the other a window, and their position imposes upon them their shape. These paintings are not appended to, but form a portion of, the edifice and cover it as a skin covers the body. Why then, belonging to the edifice, should they not be architectural? There is an innate logic in all these great works ; it is for me to forget my modern education in order to arrive at its meaning.'"

Before leaving the *stanze*, let us take a general review of the rooms, and consider what are the principles to be learnt from this wonderful monument of decoration. The first thing that strikes us is the great fact noted by Taine, that works of this kind "are not appended to, but form a portion of the edifice." This being the case, the more the various parts are

linked together into an edifice of painting, the more they will harmonise with and form part of the building and its walls, roof, windows, and doors. It is for this reason that the "Camera della Segnatura," is by far the most satisfactory of the series. The majestic strain of poetry which flows throughout the painting, inspiring it with a continuous life, produces an effect of satisfaction and completeness which even the imposing splendour of achievement in the "Camera d'Eliodoro" fails to achieve. As an individual masterpiece nothing of its kind can excel the "Miracle of Bolsena," but it is an isolated passage of extreme brilliancy, and not like the "School of Athens," and the "Disputa," and the other painting in the first "Camera," inseparable movements of one sublime symphony.

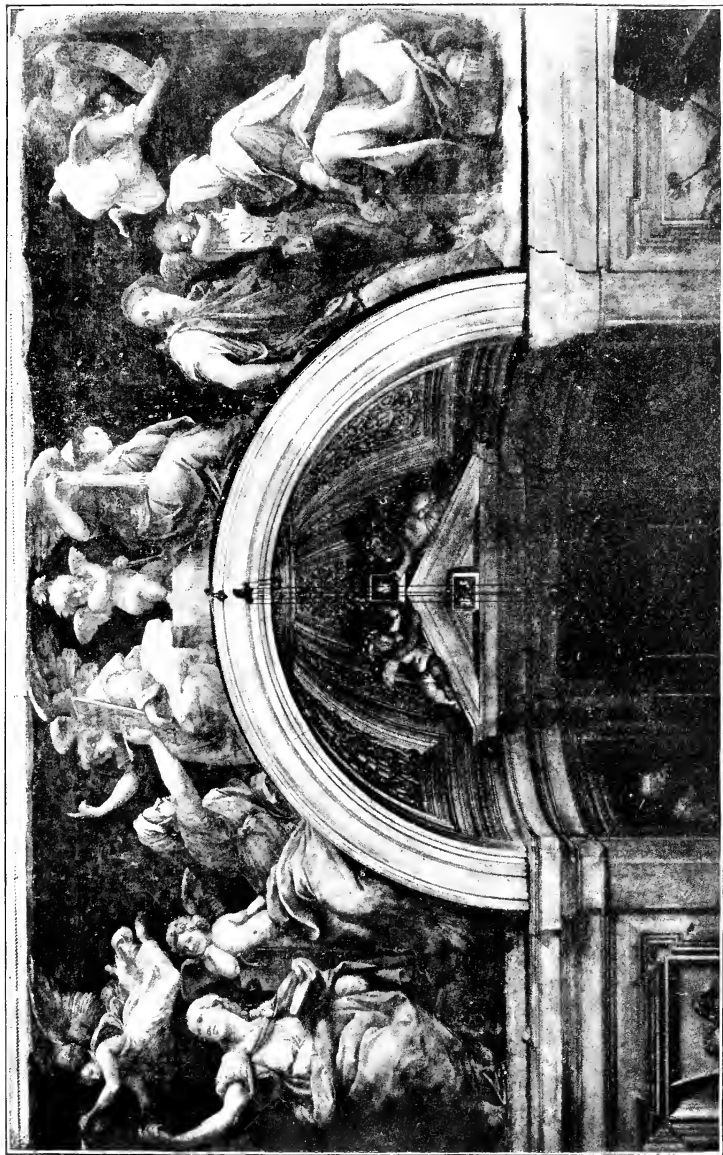
Another point which is forced upon us is, that abstract ideas, such as inspired the "Camera della Segnatura," are better themes for the decorator than isolated incidents such as the "Heliodorus," the "Peter loosed from Prison," and the "Miracle of Bolsena." These dramatic incidents require for their full expression to stand aloof from their surroundings. There must be no resemblance between the scene in the Temple when the impious Heliodorus is overturned, and that of the prison and the sleeping guards. Each scene has been realised with an intense feeling by the painter, what he shows us took place once, and for a moment only. Each stands apart complete in itself, independent of all beyond the limits of its wall. It is quite otherwise with the earlier work. Without pointing to a definite connection there is no question as to the continuity of thought and emotion between the "School

of Athens" and the "Disputà." Grave and serious men discuss religion in one, and philosophy in the other. Without violence to the idea or the painting, Dante might have crossed over and held converse with Plato and Socrates, or these might have come to hold discourse with Augustine and Jerome, while the three noble women of the "Jurisprudence," with their attendant genii, would be in no sense out of place in the "Parnassus."

There is perhaps nothing in the "Camera della Segnatura" quite so fine as the "Miracle of Bolsena," regarded as mere painting. In the latter, the art of fresco arrives at its culmination. Full, rich, transparent colours, laid on with certainty, without hesitation, without bravura. But, however great a triumph this work may be, and although its companion works are of splendid attainment, their isolated brilliancy can never make up for the continuity of effect achieved in the first Camera.

Within the same palace, working simultaneously, Raphael and Michelangelo produced the two typical instances of secular and religious decorative painting. In these two works the art of the Renaissance culminated as far as wall-painting was concerned. The roof of the Sistine chapel and the "Camera della Segnatura" remain the two perfect examples of the greatest decorative painting of the greatest period of art the world has seen.

It may be said that these two works led nowhere, and that they killed all successive attempts to follow the tradition which had existed in Italy since Giotto. But is not this always the case with the arts—complete



Alinari photo

THE SIBYLS
(From *Sta. Maria della Pace*)

[Vatican, Rome]

achievement produces no successors? After Hamlet and Lear what other tragedies? After Beethoven what other symphonies? The opera ended with Mozart, and as yet there is not the slightest indication that the Music Drama was not finished as well as begun by Wagner. Raphael and Michelangelo finished the work of the painters who had preceded them, with work the splendour of which had been unknown before their time. But art did not die; for in Venice there was arising a school which, under Titian and Veronese, was to inspire modern painting through Velasquez and Rembrandt. Monumental art was changed into something more direct in its appeal to humanity by means of the easel picture. Both styles had their dangers; monumental art had the tendency to become frigid or bombastic, while the easel pictures were apt to degenerate into the trivial and commonplace.

THE "SIBYLLS"

In the church of Santa Maria della Pace Raphael painted his greatest fresco outside the Vatican. As in so many instances already noticed the shape of the wall is the cause of the composition, and what to many would have been a stumbling-block is to Raphael but a means of attaining a new and beautiful arrangement of figures.

The "Sibylls" are nearly related in form and spirit to the women of the "Jurisprudence." Unlike the Sibylls of the Sistine, these at S. M. della Pace are not weighed down by the oracles of God, but joyfully receive the messages brought them by the flying angels. The noble harmony and rhythm of the forms and arrangement

suggest that the tidings which the Sibylls receive for transmission to the world are tidings of peace and goodwill.

The realisation of form in this fresco is perhaps finer than anything Raphael achieved elsewhere. With what care this perfection was arrived at, may be seen in the preparatory drawings existing in Vienna and at Oxford. These drawings are of quite extraordinary beauty, so free and yet so sure.

I think this fresco the finest example of Raphael's latest manner; Passavant says it was not finished till 1519. Extreme simplicity and quiet grandeur are the main characteristics of this work. There is in it an impersonal quality and an absence of literary qualities which raise it to the highest rank of painting and make any account of it in words as irrelevant as a description of a symphony.

The "Isaiah" at San Agostino is in such a bad light, and, according to Crowe and Cavalcaselle, has been so frequently re-painted that no clear impression can now be formed of the work. The fresco is on the flat side of a pillar in the church, and shows the prophet with two children. A fragment of fresco, preserved at the Academy of St. Luke in Rome, of a figure like one of the children is a very beautiful piece of painting. It is said to have formed part of some armorial bearings in the Vatican, which were destroyed when some room was demolished, this child alone being preserved. It has the appearance of being authentic.

THE FARNESINA

The "Galatea" shows Raphael's wonderful power of seizing the spirit of his subject. When the earlier

painters wished to treat a classical myth, they did so without for a moment abandoning the form and manner which they were wont to employ when treating contemporary or religious themes. No doubt, this gave to their pictures a certain charm, resulting from the incongruous mixture of a classic story with an Italian form. But Raphael, who never depended on "conceits" to give his work charm, was able to divest himself largely of the accidents of his time, and recover the directness of antique sculpture. Accessories are not relied on for effect, but are introduced only where their omission would have left the meaning doubtful. The whole picture depends on the free and natural treatment of the human form, disposed in well-ordered groups. The same principles apply to the paintings of the hall, in which is depicted the story of "Cupid and Psyche." Here, alas, we have not Raphael's painting but only his design. Posterity can never regret too much that, instead of doing the routine business of a clerk of the works to the building of St. Peters, the matchless artist was not left free to paint himself the wonderful designs he planned. Now all we can do is to look and think what a marvel of beauty this place would have been, if instead of Giulio Romano's bricky colour and defective modelling, we had these grand decorative ideas carried out by the hand that painted the glowing colours of the "Miracle of Bolsena," and modelled the faces and arms of the "Sibylls."

In the "Cupid and Psyche" series Raphael painted one figure with his own hand, the one of the three "Graces" nearest to the spectator, and with her back

turned. This figure shines out with pearly light and fresh delicate modelling from the heavy handiwork of earth-bound Giulio and his fellows. The crude blue of the sky has to be laid to the account of Carlo Maratta, who, in the seventeenth century, restored and repainted with much vigour and indiscretion; though, no doubt, the thousands of copper nails he put in prevented the plaster from flaking off. Still, one cannot but wish that he had stopped after mending the mason's work and not gone on to tinker that of the artist. The vigour and buoyant life displayed in this room are very striking. At no other time has art displayed such an extraordinary luxuriant growth; and although we may feel that greater restraint is on the whole best, still we must be indeed cold not to feel life quickened by this extraordinary performance.

There is a beautiful drawing at Windsor Castle of the group of the three Graces in the large composition of the "Feast of the Gods," which occupies one of the two flat compartments of the ceiling. It is interesting to compare this drawing with the same figures when painted, and to mark the degradation of the forms resulting from the translation of the master's work by the assistant. A like comparison between the figure of the woman with the jar of water on her head going down the steps on the extreme right of the "Incendio del Borgo," and the drawing of the same figure seems to me to point to Raphael's authorship at anyrate of that part of the fresco.

The drawing of the Graces at Windsor is considered by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to be a "touch proof" from the drawing at Chatsworth. From a careful comparison

of the two drawings, by means of photographs placed side by side, I think that the Windsor drawing is of superior beauty, some of the forms being finer than in the Chatsworth example. Although reversed, this latter seems to be a copy. Other drawings for the "Cupid and Psyche" exist, and are among the finest of the studies by Raphael which have come down to us. It is often the case that drawings done solely for the artist's own use reveal more of his natural tendency than do finished works. This is the case in the magnificent drawing in the Louvre of Venus lifting up her arms in astonishment when Psyche brings her the waters of Lethe. Nothing could be finer than the construction of the figure of Venus, so perfectly balanced in line, mass, and gesture; but so unlike the complete refinement of Leonardo in the details of hands, feet, and joints.

One more great work in fresco remains to be considered—namely, the *loggie* of the Vatican, sometimes called Raphael's Bible. In long arcaded passages, amid a wealth of decorative patterns, is to be found a series of panels the subjects of which are taken from Old and New Testament history. These works were not touched by the hand of the master, and we can hardly attribute to him any share in the cartoons which were transferred to the wall. All that can be safely attributed to Raphael is the general arrangement of the compositions and drawings for single figures of prominent groups. The reason for doubting that Raphael had any hand in the cartoons for these frescoes is, that whereas the disposition of the figures is often admirable, the proportions are often such as it would be absurd to

attribute to Raphael. M. Müntz is of opinion that as the work advanced, and as Raphael became more and more occupied with St. Peter's and other things he left the painting of the *loggie* almost entirely to his pupils, and that even the compositions of many of the later of the series is due to them and not to the master. This view is no doubt correct, and borne out by a study of the whole series. In another place I shall have something to say of the great effect these *loggie* have produced on the modern world, for they, together with the *cartoons*, have coloured the whole view of sacred history.

I shall not go into any detailed account of the "Hall of Constantine" in the Vatican, as it was entirely painted after the death of Raphael. The hideous colour of the huge battle-piece, with the extraordinary confusion of the composition, shows how soon the scholars of Raphael degenerated after his death.

This account of the fresco work of Raphael has been of necessity short, but I hope it may serve to make readers turn their minds to the works themselves or even to photographs of them. All descriptions I hold to be of but the smallest value, and consider that it would be much better if people would spend in *looking* at pictures the time they give to *reading* about them. Unless one can *feel* the balance of composition, the rhythm of form, the harmony of colour, the beauty of movement, and the many other things which a great painter sets before us, it is wholly useless to read learned works by eminent critics and scholars arranging and classifying pictures like minerals or stuffed birds. No amount of reading about painting will make us feel the

essential things in a picture, the things which differentiate a picture from a poem ; the things which a painter can do and a poet cannot. A poet writes eloquent lines about the dignified bearing of a great man, and each one goes away with a vague impression chiefly of his own making ; Michelangelo paints a prophet and he is there actually present before us. A poet describes a sky carefully ; but we all gather a different impression of the colours he describes. Turner sets his painted poem before us clearly and definitely. These lines have not been written to disparage poets, but only to point out how distinct the art of painting is from the art of words. If people once realised this they would perhaps give up reading about pictures and go to look at them.

CHAPTER V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STYLE OF RAPHAEL

THE works of Raphael group themselves naturally under three heads, which correspond with his sojournings in the three cities of Perugia, Florence, and Rome. In Perugia he did not do much more than copy the style of his master, though there is a solidity and firmness about the forms and modelling of the people in the "Sposalizio" which announces a capacity far beyond that of Perugino. In the "Vision of a Knight," we see how far ahead Raphael was of his teacher, for, while thoroughly Peruginesque in many ways, there is no trace of that affectation which is so evident in subjects of this kind in the older painter's work. I know that this exquisite little picture is by some of the learned considered to have been done under the influence of Timoteo Viti. This painter has been exalted into the position of a teacher of Raphael, chiefly, as it seems, on the ground that no evidence exists to prove that he did not occupy that position. The "Madonna Ansdei" belongs in plan to the epoch of art which Raphael so largely helped to sweep away. In this picture we can plainly see the new art breaking through the old. The freedom with which certain parts are painted, notably the hands of the saint on the right, the bold masses of dark, the use in the architecture of masses of cool, grey colour, and the grand sweep of



Hanfstaeengl photo]

Albertina, Vienna

THE MADONNA IN THE MEADOW





Hanfstaengl photo

[Munich Gallery

MADONNA DI CASA TEMPI



line in the figure of St. John the Baptist, all show into what distant regions the painter was destined to travel.

When Raphael reached Florence, he came in contact with art of a wholly different nature from that to which he had been accustomed. Instead of

“ These endless cloisters and eternal aisles
With the same series, Virgin, Babe, and Saint,
With the same cold, calm, beautiful regard,”

he found artists profoundly stirred by all the problems raised by the movements of the body. Michelangelo was showing that the muscles of the human frame were capable of expressing profound ideas, while Leonardo was lifting the veil from the face of nature and showing a thousand things never before suspected. To one brought up upon the flat-faced figures of Perugino, what a revelation must have been those marvellously - modelled drawings of Leonardo with inscrutable expressions. To the world, no doubt, these new departures did not mean much, but to so true and sensitive an artist as Raphael the effect must have been overwhelming.

With that reasonableness and intelligence which characterised the painter throughout his short life, Raphael did not plunge wildly into the new world of art opened before him. Rather he went on consistently in the course in which already he had distinguished himself, but keenly taking up new ideas and modifying his practice by their means. In the Madonnas “del Gran’ Duca,” “Terranuova,” “Casa Tempi,” “in the Meadow,” “Cardellino,” and “Belle Jardinière,” we see the leaven of the Florentine painter’s working. This last picture marks the advent

of a still greater change. While it was yet unfinished in one part, according to Vasari, Raphael was summoned to Rome.

As we have already considered the great works in fresco at the Vatican and other places, we will here only dwell upon the easel pictures. To the early part of his stay in Rome is due that most beautiful work the "Madonna di Casa d'Alba." Nowhere else has Raphael painted a more lovely Virgin and Child, though in the "Seggiola" we find a deeper humanity, and in the "San Sisto" a more prophetic vision of glory. But as an idyll nothing can exceed the beauty of the circular "Casa d'Alba" picture. The faces of the Florentine Madonnas were physically more interesting than those of the earlier period, I mean Raphael put more subtlety of modelling and variety of structure into the heads he painted in Florence than he had been taught to do by Perugino. But, in spite of this, they remain intellectually and spiritually rather colourless. In the face of the Casa d'Alba Virgin there is a look of animation and intelligence and of deeper feeling, the result of the more perfect comprehension by the artist of the subtleties of form and light and shade.

In the "Madonna di Foligno" Raphael was reconstituting the old "Madonna in Glory with Saints and the donor," but with a quite new way of approaching the subject. The formal arrangement is preserved, but the figures are treated with a realism that is new. There is a feeling in this picture of something not quite satisfactory, which I think comes from the fusion of two styles as yet not perfectly carried out. But if it must be regarded as slightly tentative in



Braun, Clement & Co. photo]

[Hermitage Gallery, St Petersburg

MADONNA DI CASA D'ALBA



Neurdein frères photo

[Louvre, Paris]

LA BELLE JARDINIÈRE



feeling, there is no questioning the great power and vigour of the execution. Later, when Raphael came to paint the "Madonna di San Sisto," the fusion of styles, or rather the creation of a new style, was complete.

To describe this picture is unnecessary, for no work is better known. It is one of those pictures which appeals alike to learned and simple, and to those holding very divergent views on art. In this respect the "Madonna della Seggiola" may be compared with the "Madonna di San Sisto." Both pictures go straight to the common humanity that underlies all the differences of taste, sentiment, and education in different people. It is this intense humanity in these two greatest of Raphael's Madonnas that is so wonderful. No other painter succeeded quite in the same way in making the Virgin Mary a true woman without losing spirituality. An element of the commonplace, or else of worldly pomp, too often took the place of the older painters' simple religious conceits. The intensely sympathetic nature of Raphael enabled him to paint the very essence of human maternal love in the one picture, while in the other he painted a vision of Divine love such as no other painter has ever achieved. The Child Christ in the "San Sisto" is beyond criticism. Raphael has here done what others have tried to do and failed. It is because this picture is so simple, and makes so little demand upon anything except the deepest feelings in our nature, that those who are best qualified to speak pronounce the "Madonna di San Sisto" the greatest picture in the world.

At different periods of his career Raphael painted

pictures, the motives of which were pain and death, but in these works there is always a stiffening and numbing effect produced by the subject on the painter. The very early picture of the Crucifixion need not be considered here, as it is little more than an echo of Perugino. The first painful picture that Raphael painted after he left his master's studio was the "Entombment" in the Borghese collection. The great number of studies still preserved in European collections for this composition shows how earnestly and thoroughly the artist set about his work. But when the arrangement had been fixed, and the picture painted, the result can only be described as frigid. It is the same with the "Spasimo," the picture of the way to Calvary, painted towards the close of the artist's career in Rome. In this work there is an academic feeling which deprives the grief of reality, without softening the agony.

In the "Life of Raphael," by M. Müntz, there is a reproduction of a drawing of a "Pietà," in the Louvre. M. Müntz does not say much about it, but seems to consider it authentic.

The drawing is of extreme beauty, but I can hardly think that it is by Raphael. There is about the treatment of certain parts, the hands, feet, and knees, something which seems to point to a Florentine draughtsman, while the grand draperies of the standing Virgin suggest Fra Bartolomeo. If this drawing could be certainly ascribed to Raphael, it would be impossible to deny his power in the region of the greatest tragedy.

Quite within the natural scope of the painter's genius



[Lord Cowper's Collection]

THE COWPER MADONNA (1508)



is the wonderful picture of the "Vision of Ezekiel" in the Pitti Palace. Although it is very small, the execution is as bold and broad as if the picture were a large one. The critics who usually speak of the coarse execution of Giulio Romano, ascribe to him the painting of this work, in spite of the delicacy of its handling.

Fashion in a bygone time pronounced the "Transfiguration" to be Raphael's masterpiece, chiefly, I imagine, because it lent itself so easily to sentiment, the last work of its author, its having hung in the studio over the head of the bier, etc., all these considerations caused people who read about pictures, but do not look at them, to make a halo round it.

Vasari says that Raphael intended to paint the whole work with his own hand, and he seems to infer that he did so; but it is certain that Giulio Romano (who was charged by Raphael with the task of finishing incomplete works) was paid a sum of money on account of this picture some time after the death of Raphael. There seems no reason to doubt that the upper part of the picture was the work of Raphael's own hand, and it is this part in which is to be found all that is finest in the work. There is no doubt but that the central figure of the composition is a striking creation of great dignity and beauty; the same may be said of the other figures on the mountain or in the sky, but the crowd below is not equal to these either in conception or execution.

There is a distinctly theatrical feeling in the gestures, and an academic dulness in the painting of the lower part, which is not to be found in the upper. The

colour of the upper part is light, fresh, and beautiful, while heavy black shadows and brownish yellow lights make the lower portion displeasing.

When a master has died at an early age it is always tempting to think what he might have produced had he lived. The danger to Raphael's art was no doubt over-production; he was so eager to seize fresh ideas, that he was too often obliged after merely planning to turn over the actual painting to others; but at the same time he seems to have been quite conscious that, great as his facility was, the best results could not be obtained by improvisation. Witness the minute studies made for the subordinate figures in the "Transfiguration." At the height of his reputation he laboured to prepare his picture as if he had been but a beginner. I cannot help thinking that had he lived he might have delayed the decadence, and not hastened it as has so often been pretended. What disgusts us in the decadent work of the Renaissance is the empty rhetoric and slipshod execution, blowsy forms and gaudy colours. Had Raphael lived, and had he been free to work according to his own wishes, who knows but that his example of careful study and deep research might not have set a good example to the painters of his time, who were lacking in these qualities.



Hanystaengl photo

[Chantilly

THE ORLEANS MADONNA



CHAPTER VI

RAPHAEL AS PORTRAIT PAINTER

THROUGHOUT his career Raphael never ceased to occupy himself with portraiture. It is remarkable that a painter who was so little occupied with realism in his pictures should have been able to so completely put off his usual manner of generalisation. He was able to efface himself and leave but the thinnest veil of his temperament between us and the sitter. At the time when Raphael was studiously removing accidents of space and time from his frescoes, he could, when he painted a Pope or a Cardinal, give us the very man as he walked the halls of the Vatican.

The earliest portraits of the master are those of Angelo Doni and Maddelena his wife. These were painted in Florence in a forcible but rather wooden manner. Angelo is the finer picture of the two, perhaps he was the more interesting sitter.

Great mystery and doubt hangs over the portrait of Julius II. Several versions of the picture exist, but the two most important examples are those in Florence, and the question is whether one is the original, or neither, or both. Crowe and Cavalcaselle think that the original is lost, and that the two at Florence are founded upon the cartoon still existing in a damaged condition. Karl Károly, in his work on the Madonnas of Raphael, says: "The authentic ascription of these two pictures only

dates from the year 1631, when they were put down in the Florentine inventory as 'di mano da Raffaello' (by the hand of Raphael). The original inventory (of Pesaro) of an earlier date omits the name of Raphael."

If the features of the two portraits of Julius, in the Pitti and the Uffizi, be examined closely certain differences will be remarked. The mouth in the Uffizi picture is of quite a different shape to that of the Pitti. In the former the lips are scarcely visible, while the corners of the mouth are turned down decidedly. It is, in fact, a horrible mouth. Now, in the Pitti example the lips are clearly shown, and the corners of the mouth are softened; but the mouth has become a characterless one. The same process has been at work with the nose. In the Uffizi the nose is big and bulbous at the end, while the top of the nostril on the left runs up to a point suggesting the lifting of the nostril for a snarl. The top of this nostril in the Pitti is not so pointed, and the end of the nose is less heavy. The eyes in the Pitti picture are deeply sunk and somewhat dull, while in the Uffizi portrait sudden lights and shadows give to them extraordinary vivacity. The whole face in the Uffizi has the air of having preserved the accidents of the sitter's features, while that in the Pitti seems to be rather a courtly softening of unpleasant characteristics. But the authentic portraits by Raphael show him to have been relentless in his naturalism. What picture could present less courtly softening than the Leo X. or the Inghirami.

There exists at Chatsworth a fine drawing of the head of Julius. This drawing is dismissed as being



Brogi photo]

[Pitti Palace, Florence

ANGELO DONI



not original by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, but as they give no evidence their verdict is unconvincing. The drawing in question is full of vigour and has that certainty of hand so characteristic of Raphael's drawings of the Roman period. The features in this drawing are very like those of the Uffizi picture; the mouth is identical. Might it not have been a study from life done for the picture? The question now arises, if the Pitti portrait is regarded as a scholar's version of the original, can the Uffizi picture be regarded as the authentic work? That Raphael painted a portrait of Julius which was seen by Vasari is certain: did this picture disappear without leaving any trace of its destruction?

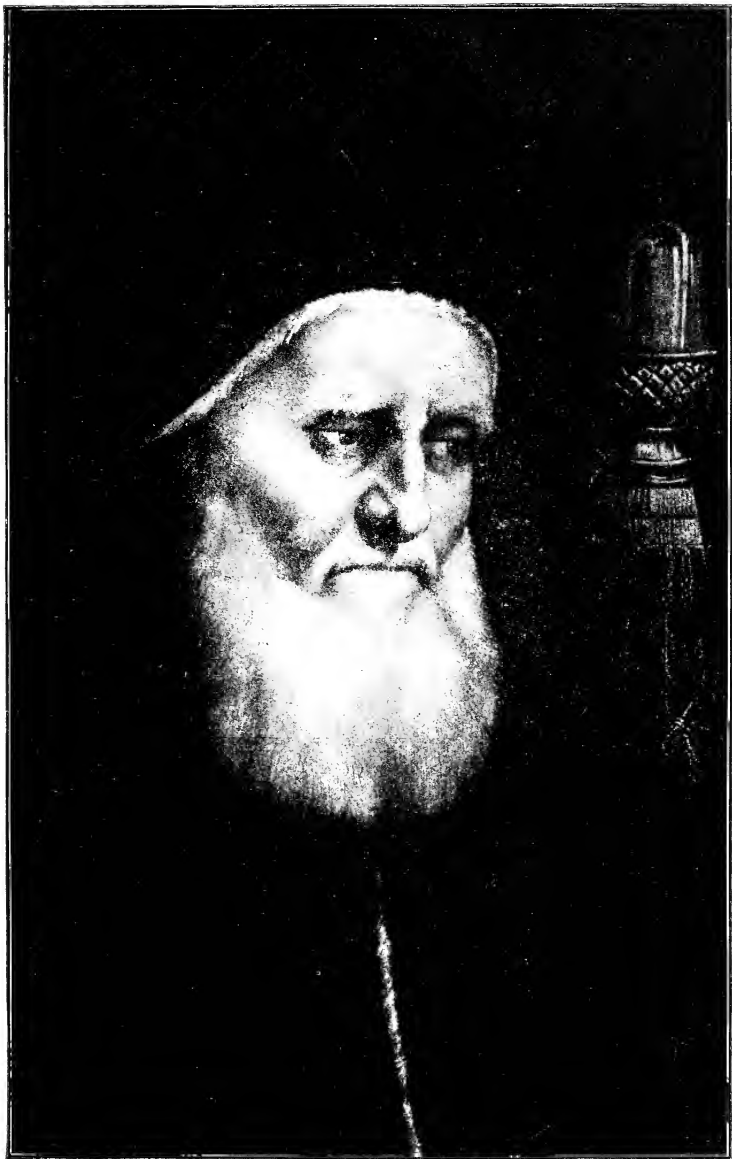
If we believe that a portrait of one of the most famous Popes, painted by one of the most famous painters, could disappear without being noticed, then we must accept the verdict of Crowe and Cavalcaselle that neither of the Florentine pictures is genuine. But if we think that the disappearance of such a picture could not have taken place without comment, remembering that Raphael never became out of date and forgotten like earlier masters, we are driven to accept as the original one of the two pictures here discussed. But if we accept the Pitti portrait and consider the Uffizi version a copy, we have to accept as probable in the copy the differences of feature noted above. Now, these differences all point to closer adherence to nature, for it is unlikely that a copyist would alter the mouth in the direction already noted.

Such are the known facts connected with these pictures. It is unlikely that the question will ever be

definitely set at rest. It is much more probable that critics will continue to give reasons, completely satisfactory to themselves, why each picture in turn should be considered authentic, as they have done in the past. M. Müntz, after summing up these varying judgments, pithily comments that nevertheless expertism is not discredited.

I am sometimes tempted, when reading the theories of the experts, to wonder what would have been the result if the pictures by Millais collected together at the Academy after his death had been scattered over the galleries of Europe, together with some forgeries and works by his contemporaries. After the lapse of three hundred years, what, I wonder, would be the verdict of the experts, say, upon the portraits of Gladstone? Would they have always been able to distinguish Millais' early works from those of his associates? Yet this is the problem which has to be faced in pronouncing upon the authenticity of pictures when their histories no longer can be traced.

Whatever may be the truth about the authenticity of the two Florentine pictures, they are both extremely fine as works of art and revelations of character. In this portrait Julius looks sullen, though violent; with head bent he broods over his defeat at Bologna, where his statue by Michelangelo had been dashed in pieces, and his tyranny overthrown. Very different is the wonderful portrait of Leo X. with two Cardinals, in the Pitti. Fortunately there is no tiresome question of authorship to be discussed in this case. With relentless art the painter has portrayed the fat, cunning face, with its blunt nose, thick mouth, double chins, and squinting



Bregi photo]

[*Uffizi Gallery, Florence*

JULIUS II (DETAIL)

eyes. The painter seems to have laid bare for us the soul of the man whose policy so alienated the rulers of Italy that they stood aside and looked on at the sack of Rome.

If we turn from the unprepossessing subject of this portrait of Leo and examine the work of the painter, we cannot but be astonished at the splendour of the execution. The following description of the artistic qualities of the picture is an excellent piece of criticism:—

“Vasari has noted the expression of surface texture in the brocade, metal, etc., and his admiration is not to be wondered at, for texture as shown by brush handling had hardly been attempted up to this time in Tuscan art. Again, the working out of a scale of one colour is novel to the time, and, as always, when it is skilfully managed, is impressive. Here the scale is of red, scarlet, crimson, purple, brown, the only opposition being the white brocade. It is quite possible that this was not a deliberate compositional choice on the part of Raphael, and that it was imposed by the Papal costume, throne, chair, and surroundings; but at least there is compositional arrangement and selection, since Raphael must have been free to add other colours but has omitted them.”¹

One of the finest portraits Raphael ever painted is the Baldassare Castiglione, in the Louvre. The distinction of the colour and of the drawing are highly appropriate to this most cultivated man, who was both diplomatist and man of letters. The colouring of this picture is singularly modern. Cool greys and blacks make up the largest part of the work, and throw into quiet relief the sober flesh tones and warm colour of

¹ Note to Blashfield and Hopkins' "Vasari."

the beard. Though not so powerful as the "Julius," or so magnificent as the "Leo," the portrait of "Castiglione" has a quiet charm which makes it one of the most delightful of pictures of its class.

In another kind of portraiture Raphael excelled—namely, in the portraits of popes and cardinals, which he introduced into his frescoes. These portraits are individual men, but the personality of the artist does not retire into the background so entirely as it does in the easel portraits. Over all the real men introduced into the frescoes there is thrown a magic of style which brings them into harmony with the ideal figures into whose company they are brought.



Alinari photo]

[Pitti Palace, Florence

LA DONNA VELATA



CHAPTER VII

RAPHAEL AS ILLUSTRATOR OF THE BIBLE

IT was not till he began to work in the "Camera d' Eliodoro"—that is, between the years 1511 and 1514—that Raphael took to illustrating the Bible. The subjects on the roof of this room, and the "Peter loosed from Prison," are the beginning of the great series which he either painted or inspired, and which have had so important a part in fixing Biblical imagery for Western Christendom. I think there is nothing more astonishing than the way in which this gentle youth, born in the insignificant Umbrian town of Urbino, has affected men's ways of conceiving the appearance of the scenes they read about in the Old or New Testament. This influence has spread far beyond those who consciously look at Raphael's works, and vast numbers who have never seen an original, or even a faithful reproduction of one of his pictures, are still under his spell. It is Raphael who has fixed the type which through every form of imperfect imitation has penetrated deeply into men's minds. The Sunday picture book, the illustrated Bible, the large coloured pictures hung up in schools, all are traceable in the end to the "Cartoons" and the *loggie*. The only work that can be compared to these in popular diffusion is the "Last Supper," of Leonardo.

To have affected the world in this way the Biblical

pictures of Raphael must have in them a deep and true feeling ; and we cannot but feel that there was something most remarkable in the mind of a man, who, while he threw off designs at furious speed to satisfy his Papal employer, was unconsciously influencing future ages in the way in which they were to realise their Bible. In one sense, these illustrations seem purely in the character of the artist's time ; the Humanist spirit of the Court of Leo X. seems to colour the work. The revival of the Antique seems largely responsible for the form in which they are cast. But it is to people who have never heard of Humanism, the Renaissance, or the Antique, that these illustrations have appealed most deeply.

The meaning of this apparent contradiction is that the men of the Renaissance, although they were so much taken up with Antiquity, were really extraordinarily free from mannerisms and fashions. If we could throw ourselves back into the past, how strange we should find the people of the eighteenth or the seventeenth century ; but by going farther back till we reached the epoch of Raphael we should find in the men of that time people much more like to ourselves than in the two intervening centuries. The reason of this likeness would not be that our minds are influenced by the same external ideas as theirs, but because the fundamental humanity which is common to all ages was less obscured in the Renaissance by fashion and manner. Human desires were less controlled than at any other time by sense of responsibility and respect for convention. The result was that although tyrants and evil men were freer to do harm, the great and

noble minds of that age speak to us with less of a barrier of shifting and obscuring fashion than those of other ages.

Raphael came at the time when the illustrations of the Bible of the earlier painters were no longer of use, because mediævalism has passed away. A new form had to be created to convey the old ideas. Raphael made his own convention, which was one of great simplicity. He rejected the dresses and setting of his own time, finding them not appropriate, as had the early painters. His perfect sense of beauty and harmony invested this abstract style with life, and kept him out of the arid wastes of later painters, who had not his gifts. The painters of the decadence reduced his style to a mere mannerism, and under their influence it became flat, stale, and unprofitable. The modern religious painter finds himself in a difficult position. The critical spirit makes it almost impossible to use the people of his own day as did the early Italians. He is thrown back on archæological realism with its petty research, numbing the imagination, or on the abstract style, with its danger of empty unreality.

After all, what we desire in illustration is not realism. If Raphael brings home to us with new distinctness the scene when St. Paul, preaching at Athens, told the Greeks of something greater than that which their philosophers had ever taught them, we need not care if the painter has clothed the Apostle in a way in which he would never have dressed. What we ask is, that majesty of form and grandeur of arrangement should impress us with the greatness of the event. And feeling satisfied, and convinced of the reality of the spirit, we are not interested in the unreality of the details.

We have already given the history of the "Cartoons," and now will only refer to their artistic merits. The first question which naturally arises is, How much of the hand of Raphael do we see in these works?

To trace the damage done by restorers is not so difficult here as it is in the case of the oil pictures, and for this reason. The tapestry workers required a facsimile of the outline of each design, and to produce this they placed paper at the back of each cartoon and then pricked the outline with a needle. Now if these holes are examined it will be found that some are filled up with paint and some are not. The places where the holes are filled up indicate the portions where the restorer has been at work. It will be found, for instance, that the pavement on the left of the figure of "Paul preaching at Athens," and the water reflecting the figure of Our Lord in the "Miraculous Draught of Fishes," have been re-painted. A careful examination of the works should be made from this point of view, and the results marked on photographs and placed in the gallery.

After the question of re-painting comes the more important one as to what share Raphael had in the execution of the "Cartoons." It is highly probable that he sought assistance from his band of scholars, but to what extent no two people quite agree. The only evidence to be obtained is by comparison of the "Cartoons" with the *loggie*. The latter we know to be the work of scholars. We gather from the comparison, firstly, that the proportions and general drawing of the figures is vastly inferior in the *loggie*; so much so that it is impossible to believe that the same



Alinari photo]

[Pitti Palace, Florence

THE VISION OF EZEKIEL



hands painted both works. If the scholars could construct figures like Paul Preaching, or the Peter in the "Miraculous Draught," why were they incapable of such work in the *loggias*? From this we may gather that Raphael not only arranged the compositions, but drew with his own hand many, if not all, the figures in the "Cartoons." Nor can I attribute the beautiful dull silvery blue colour of the "Miraculous Draught" to any other hand than that of the master. The cool keys of colour are to be found in authentic works, and seldom if ever in works by the scholars. Compare, for instance, the key of colour of the "Galatea" with that of the "Cupid and Psyche" series.

It must not be forgotten when looking at the "Cartoons" that they were not intended to be finished works complete in themselves; the effect, which is somewhat coarse, was calculated for translation into tapestry. Niceties of expression were inadmissible, the artist having to depend upon broad effects.

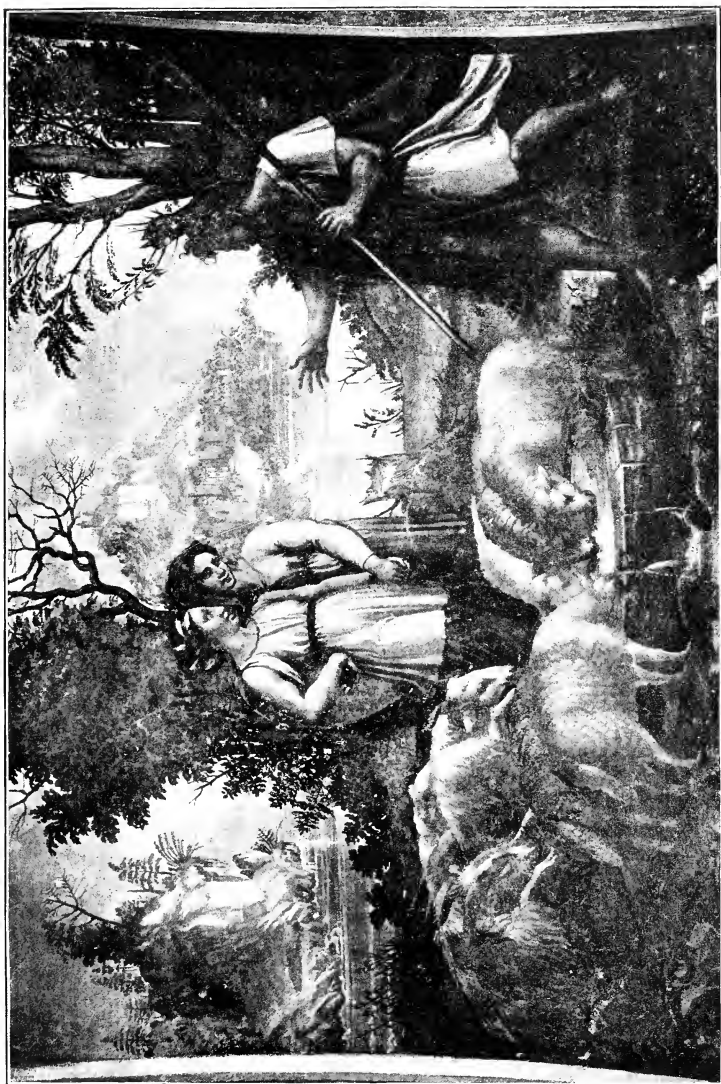
In surveying the series of the seven remaining "Cartoons" one cannot but be struck with the wonderful variety and individuality of the art displayed in them. Although completely homogeneous in style, a distinct impression is made by each picture. In spite of the academic type of many of the faces, the drama enacted before us is convincingly real. Mere beauty is used with less frequency than in other works by Raphael, though in places it is present in such figures as the woman carrying the basket of doves in the "Beautiful Gate," and in the children in the "Sacrifice at Lystra." In the present state of the cartoons the colour is finest in the "Miraculous Draught," and in the dark recesses

of the porch of the Temple lighted up by the hanging lamps in the "Beautiful Gate." Few drawings by the master are finer than the red chalk study in the Windsor Collection for the "Charge to Peter." Here we see a group of Roman models in doublet and hose, drawn with astonishing spirit and vigour. But delicacy is present too, and is seen in the beautiful profile of St. John, and in the wonderful modelling of the legs of the kneeling figure. Raphael has departed a good deal from this drawing in the "Cartoon," both in the arrangement of the group and in the figure of Christ.

To point out the faults of this series is quite easy. The heads of the subordinate persons are cast in too antique a mould, generalisation of form has been carried to the limits of mannerism, the draperies of some of the figures seem hung upon them as on lay figures, and not influenced by the movements of the body. So one might go on, but after all the grandeur of the spirit informing these works far outweighs faults of detail.

These "Cartoons" have in them that greatness both of art and humanity that make them a power for the quickening of the spirit of man.

The *loggie* are far below the level of the "Cartoons" in execution, as well as in grandeur of thought. But they are a wonderful example of story-telling in paint. Many scenes of idyllic beauty are to be found, such as the "Finding of Moses in the River," and the "Meeting of Jacob and Rachel." But though in works such as these, the idea, and some of the form of the master is visible, there are numbers which seem little more than improvisations by second-rate men, though perhaps upon a theme supplied by the master.



Vatican, Rome

JACOB MEETING RACHEL AT THE WELL

Alinari photo

For Agostino Chigi Raphael designed the decoration of a cupola in Sta. M. del Popolo, which was finely carried out by Venetian mosaic workers. The subject was the creation of the planets. In the centre is the figure of the Creator, while below in compartments are angels flying above a figure typical of each planet. These figures are the antique gods, and we therefore get a mixture of sacred and profane such as Dr Johnson denounced in Lycidas as "easy, vulgar, and therefore disgusting." No doubt the combination of Cynthia and an Angel in one panel is strange to our ideas, but we must remember that at this epoch divines were in the habit of using Pagan imagery and names to illustrate Christian Theology.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CASE AGAINST RAPHAEL

TO understand rightly a master we esteem, we ought to try to understand rightly the position of those who do not regard him with the admiration that we do ourselves. The case against Raphael has been put by different critics, who, though they condemn, do so on quite different grounds. We will try to state as fairly as possible, these different forms of criticism.

The tendency of painters is to range themselves either on the side of the art of general effect or on that of expressive detail. These two styles may be said to have been divided by the Alps. In Italy the tendency was always towards the structural and architectural side of painting, by which is meant that the Italian artist seems, first of all, to have considered his work as a general effect. If it was a fresco, he thought how its composition would accord with its place on the wall; if it was an easel picture, his first care was to produce unity of impression by colour and light and shade. When these primal considerations were reached, the expression of parts was considered, but these parts were held in subjection to the general impression. North of the Alps, the case was different, expressive detail in every part was the great desire of northern painters, while general effect seems to have been left to chance. But some people love to ponder over works

bit by bit, to be impressed, for instance, by the novel and interesting way in which Albert Dürer developed his thought, tracing out his endless inventions and originalities, expressed with such clearness and beauty. People who are enamoured of this kind of art are also apt to be more impressed by the intimate and personal elements in painting, and to prefer portraiture to ideal poetry. Just as there is a feeling of an intimate pleasure in the minute expressiveness of Dürer or Holbein, so there is a feeling of nearness to us in the wonderful revelations of soul shown us by Rembrandt. Although the consummate art of this master enabled him to produce marvels of unity of impression, there is always present the art of analysis rather than of construction.

If people derive their chief enjoyment from art such as has just been described, it is not unlikely that they will consider Raphael either cold in his frescoes or sentimental in his Madonnas. Works like the *stanze*, where the type is of such far greater importance than the individual, where diversity and complexity are harmonised by the sacrifice of salient personality, will appear frigid and academic to those who delight in the poignancy of art such as that of Rembrandt. A recent biographer of Gainsborough, Sir Walter Armstrong, states his own view thus :

“The world is now gradually consenting to put Raphael below Michelangelo, Leonardo, Rembrandt, Titian, and perhaps Velasquez, in the artistic hierarchy, but his fall from the highest place has not been caused by the diffuseness of his talent, but by the recognition that, after all, it was only talent, talent of course of an extraordinarily high order, but not the burning gift that welds all artistic qualities into a creation in spite of any irregularity in their distribution. Man prefers, in the work of man, the slightest touch of the

creative faculty to the most lavish display of what I may call, for want of a better phrase, intellectual manipulation. Raphael's gift was critical rather than creative. It was compounded of taste, judgment, invention, and, in his early days, of religious fervour. The essential connection between his emotions and the phenomena of nature was not overwhelming. He felt none of that overmastering desire to express his own individual passions in line, colour, and chiaroscuro, which gave an inevitable unity to the works of the five men I have named."

The above is an able statement of its author's point of view; but I think the argument is weak. Raphael had not the special creative faculty of Rembrandt, but is he therefore to be denied this quality altogether? Because Rembrandt did not cover walls with miracles of ideal beauty, but preferred to draw his inspiration from Dutch men and women, often of ugly appearance, are we to assume that his art was mere realism? I think that Sir Walter Armstrong, and many who share his taste, are so accustomed to find expression pushed to the farthest point possible in their favourite painters that when they are confronted with Raphael, not finding in him that direct expressiveness of single figures they are accustomed to, they fail to recognise that the creative faculty may work in more ways than one.

Another form of criticism brought against Raphael is that he is academic and rhetorical. These last charges are generally brought by people who prefer the early Italian work, and who derive pleasure from the fantastic delicacy and direct story-telling of the Quattrocento painters. To these people the absence in Raphael's later Madonnas of all those charms of staging present in the pictures of Perugino and of

his contemporaries, is no compensation for the gain in mere human qualities. To them the little angels playing or singing in a Madonna by Gian Bellini more than make up for the expressionless face of the Virgin herself, and the peaceful glow of perfect colour over gracious personages, as in this painter's work at San Zaccheria, is more to them than the deep humanity of motherly love showing in the "Madonna della Seggiola."

There is a phase of hostile criticism admirably stated and met by Messrs Blashfield and Hopkins in the work already cited, and for quoting which I need make no excuse to the reader.

"The student eager to study nature as it is, compares some of the figures in the *Stanze*, more especially some of the figures in the tapestry cartoons or the Farnesina frescoes, with the almost impeccable technical work of certain modern French artists, and he is angered. 'Is this,' he asks, 'your boasted Raphael? Are these straining eyeballs and splaying fingers, and formal curls, and sugar-loaf noses, like nature? Am I to learn from them?' To which the answer is, 'These are the faults of Raphael exaggerated by lesser men, and because they are exaggerations they are obvious and seen first of all.' The real Raphael must be sought for in his own thought, his studies, the works which he executed himself. Even in those done by pupils the spiritual significance of the master's conception often pierces the envelope, and we see him at once powerful and serene; in the long line of his Madonnas there is no repetition, and no sense of fatigue, and in his frescoes he laid down the lines of monumental composition. The same student who has compared Raphael's *technique* with that of the modern French master may say, for instance, even while admitting their style and character, that the silhouettes of the women in the medallions of the 'Camera della Signatura' are coarse in outline, that the construction of their faces will not bear analysis. But when that modern painter has a medallion to fill, and has tried one arrangement after another, he inevitably realises

that it is Raphael who has found the best ordering that could be found, and the modern painter builds upon his lines, laid down so distinctly that the greater the practice of the artist the more complete becomes his realisation of Raphael's comprehension of essentials in composition."

There is still another attack on the art of Raphael which must be considered, one which deals with fundamental principles; I refer to the criticisms of Mr Ruskin. This author—one of the most interesting and least convincing of writers on art—has stated his case in the third volume of "Modern Painters," on page 51, where he says:

"In early times *art was employed for the display of religious facts*; now, *religious facts were employed for the display of art*. The transition, though imperceptible, was consummate; it involved the entire destiny of painting. It was passing from the paths of life to the paths of death.

"And this change was all the more fatal, because it at first veiled the appearance of greater dignity and sincerity than were possessed by the older art. One of the earliest results of the new knowledge was the putting away the greater part of the *unlikely-hoods* and fineries of the ancient pictures, and an apparently closer following of nature and probability. All the fantasy which I have just been blaming as disturbant of the simplicity of faith, was first subdued,—then despised and cast out. The appearances of nature were more closely followed in everything; and the crowned Queen-Virgin of Perugino sank into a simple Italian mother in Raphael's 'Madonna of the Chair.' Was not this, then, a healthy change? No. It *would* have been healthy if it had been affected with a pure motive, and the new truths would have been precious if they had been sought for the truth's sake. But they were not sought for truth's sake, but for pride's; and truth which is sought for display may be just as harmful as truth which is spoken in malice."

But why assume the evil motive of pride in Raphael? It seems probable that Mr Ruskin, finding himself not

in sympathy with the art of the master, set to work to invent moral reasons why the painter was wrong and the critic right. Mr Ruskin's temperament, as we see from his writings, is acutely in sympathy with what he here calls the fineries and fantasies, rather than with the strong pulse of actual life. Students of Mr Ruskin's fascinating autobiography will see how his mind naturally felt the charm of orderly things within a somewhat narrow range. But when the verdict of a critic depends so closely on his temperament and his most personal likes and dislikes, we cannot but feel that arguments leading to the opposite conclusion would be just as convincing if stated by a critic whose feelings led him in another direction to those of Mr Ruskin. Why should not the unnatural drawing and colouring, the bedizening of sacred persons in all possible finery, of the primitive painters, be called "pride" just as much as the naturalism of Raphael? It is amusing to speculate what might have been written by Mr Ruskin, had his taste set the other way, about the "pride" of the early painters, who were not content with the sentiment of maternal love, but stuck gold platters on the heads of their virgins, and made them stand on impossible clouds.

There is another passage in the same volume of "Modern Painters" (p. 54), which may be quoted, because it raises interesting questions as to how figures in sacred pictures are to be clothed.

Mr Ruskin begins by giving a most beautiful and eloquent description of the events that immediately led up to the incident of Christ's charge to Peter. This description is entirely from the point of view of modern

feeling, and the landscape touches are such as would never have occurred to a Renaissance painter.

“ . . . Try to feel that a little, and think of it till it is true to you ; and then, take up that infinite monstrosity and hypocrisy—Raphael’s Cartoon of the charge to Peter. Note, first, the bold fallacy—the putting *all* the Apostles there, a mere lie to serve the Papal heresy of the Petric supremacy, by putting them all in the background while Peter receives the charge, and making them all witnesses of it. Note the handsomely curled hair and neatly tied sandals of the men who had been out all night with sea-mists and on the slimy decks. Note their convenient dresses for going a-fishing, with trains that lie a yard along the ground, and goodly fringes,—all made to match, an apostolic fishing costume. Note how Peter especially (whose chief glory was in his wet coat *girt* about him and naked limbs) is enveloped in folds and fringes, so as to kneel and hold his keys with grace. No fire of coals at all, nor lonely mountain shore, but a pleasant Italian landscape, full of villas and churches, and a flock of sheep to be pointed at ; and the whole group of the Apostles, not round Christ, as they would have been naturally, but straggling away in a line, that they may all be shown.

“ The simple truth is, that the moment we look at the picture we feel our belief of the whole thing taken away. There is, visibly, no possibility of that group ever having existed, in any place, or on any occasion. It is all a mere mythic absurdity, and faded concoction of fringes, muscular arms, and curly heads of Greek philosophers.”

Now listen to the eminent French critic, M. Müntz, in his work on Raphael. Speaking of the spirit of the Cartoons, he says that Raphael

“ wished, above all, to show himself the faithful interpreter of the sacred writings ; and he has succeeded. It is possible to say that none but he entered so profoundly into the spirit of the Gospels. His apostles are truly those men great of soul, but of plebeian type, and with rough manners, of which the New Testament tells us—fishermen and artisans. We must not seek in them the nobility which distinguishes the philosophers of the ‘ School of Athens,’ the

poets of the "Parnassus," the Fathers and Doctors of the "Disputà." The force of conviction here takes the place of all other qualities, and this conviction Raphael has expressed with eloquence of which we should hardly have thought him capable. The Court painter has forgotten his aristocratic connections, he has renounced the pomps and refinements of the Renaissance in order to make us hear the true accents that will reach the poorest and the most ignorant. The public he addresses is not the fine society admitted to the ceremonies of the Sistine, it is rather the disinherited, to whom nascent Christianity had given such a large hospitality. Thus these compositions, destined to be translated into silk and gold, and to shine in the most sumptuous of chapels, are in reality a popular work, the most perfect, but also the last which art created on the other side of the Alps."

It seems strange that a work of art should produce such opposite effects on different minds. Though agreeing in the main with M. Müntz, I can also see the force of Mr Ruskin's scoffs at the "apostolic fishing costume." But it seems to me that this question of clothes is of minor importance in pictures if the spirit is right; and to many, in spite of the academic draperies, the "Cartoons" will seem nearer to the New Testament story than the laboured archæology and orientalism of such artists as Mr Holman Hunt and M. Tissot.

Hitherto all navigators of the dangerous sea of æsthetic right and wrong have gone ashore on the rocks. Numberless systems have been evolved, but none have convinced any important body of opinion, and it seems that in the end there is little to fall back upon but personal like and dislike. When we see great and noble minds condemning as fundamentally bad art the works which equally great and noble minds regard as the summit of artistic achievement we may feel justified in taking our own course.

To my mind, no one has so truly put the case both for and against Raphael as Browning, in his "Andrea del Sarto." In the following lines the poet with his dramatic imagination has summed up all that there is to be said :—

"Yonder's a work, now, of that famous youth
The Urbinate who died five years ago,
('Tis copied, George Vasari sent it me)
Well, I can fancy how he did it all,
Pouring his soul, with kings and popes to see,
Reaching, that Heaven might so replenish him,
Above, and through his art, for it gives way ;
That arm is wrongly put—and there again—
A fault to pardon in the drawing's lines,
Its body so to speak ! its soul is right,
He means right—that, a child may understand.
Still, what an arm ! and I could alter it.
But all the play, the insight and the stretch—
Out of me ! Out of me !"

CONCLUSION

IT has often been pointed out how much Raphael owed to his predecessors and contemporaries—to Masaccio, Leonardo, Fra Bartolomeo, and Michelangelo. The figure of St. Paul preaching at Athens is taken with but slight alteration from the Carmine. But no work has less sense of being borrowed than the cartoon. Even if he occasionally incorporated ideas from other men's work, no painter leaves a more distinct and individual impression on the mind than Raphael. This could not have been so, if poverty of invention or weakness of artistic impulse had led him to assimilate the work of other men. There are some men who produce original work best when they are entirely self-centred, others there are who find the stimulus needed for production in the work of other people. To see a picture by someone else, and to be inspired by it to make a creation of one's own is not to copy.

The "wonder and worth" of the art of Raphael seems to me to rest upon his possessing in a supreme degree the gifts of rhythmic construction and lyrical beauty whether it be in a tiny picture like the "Vision of a young Knight," in the National Gallery, which is only seven inches square, or on the larger works on the Vatican walls, it is the same. The thought is expressed, firstly, by means of a rhythmic arrangement of lines and spaces, and, secondly, by pure beauty of faces and figures.

There has been one other artist who has worked in this same way, with equally great results, and that is Mozart. Indeed the way in which these two men approached their art is curiously alike. Both seem to have constantly kept in view the feeling that the artistic fabric must never be sacrificed to the expression of the idea, though at the same time, the purely artistic qualities must take their shape from that idea. When Mozart composed a dramatic scene he never let the expression of tragic emotions so completely take possession of him that form was thereby sacrificed. In the catastrophe of "Don Giovanni" there is a perfect balance between the drama and the music. The awful voices of the trombones, the agitated rush of the violins and flutes, the intermittent thunder of the drums, are all as carefully arranged with a view to their position in the musical structure as to their expression of the tragedy going forward on the stage. This perfect adjustment between the means and the end results in a feeling of satisfaction and completeness which passion alone will not produce. Examples might be quoted from the works of Wagner to show that when he is most magnificent he is at the same time paying most attention to construction. I need here only allude to the inimitable last scenes of "Die Walküre" and "Die Götterdämmerung." In the light given by another art let us return to Raphael and examine the Heliodorus fresco. In no other of his late works has Raphael built up his picture on a more symmetrical plan. The groups of figures on either hand occupy like spaces, leaving the centre of the foreground empty.

This formality is, in truth, the most expressive arrangement that could have been found. The space over which the avenging angels have passed and swept bare, brings before us the knowledge of their devastating energy in the most forcible manner. As if to emphasise this emptiness Raphael has paved the floor with very large stones, so as to have it as little as possible broken up into small spaces. In the "School of Athens," where an even calm pervades everything, the pattern of the floor is smaller, and no one bare place is insisted on.

In other respects Mozart and Raphael were alike; in the faculty they both possessed of expressing every feeling by means of pure beauty, in that endless productiveness, in that feeling which set the effect produced by the whole above the elaboration of parts, and in perfect clearness of thought.

Raphael was essentially a man who dwelt in the world; there is hardly to be found in his work a spirit of mysticism, but he never was occupied with the pomps and vanities like Veronese. He seems always to be telling us how noble a thing is man. This deep sympathy with humanity is in truth the secret of his power. No other of the greatest painters touches so many and such different natures, and no other has appealed so surely to the common humanity that is in us all.



APPENDIX

THE following extracts are from an article in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1863, by Guiseppe Campori, entitled "Documents Inédits sur Raphael." They are interesting as giving a glimpse of Roman life and manners, and also for showing that Raphael had to paint scenery as well as other things for Leo X. The letters here referred to passed between the Duke of Ferrara, and Pauluzzi his agent in Rome. It is curious to note that the Duke quite fails to realise the change that has come over the social position of artists, and treats Raphael as a common tradesman, whom he expects his agent to bully. But the agent had to adopt quite a different manner in approaching the friend of Bibiena, Bembo, and Castiglione.

The first letter from Pauluzzi, dated March 8, 1518, describes principally a comedy which he had been to see the previous Sunday evening. The Pope was present, and the comedy was the "Suppositi."

"There was music, and the Pope through his spectacles admired the scenery, which was very beautiful and done by the hand of Raphael ; really it was a fine sight, and the distances and perspectives were much admired. His Holiness also admired the sky, which was marvellously represented ; the candelabras were formed out of letters, and each letter supported five torches, which spelt 'Leo X. Pont. Maximus.' . . . He (the nuncio) laughed at the title of the comedy, the 'Suppositi,' to such a degree that the Pope too laughed heartily with the spectators ; and, from what I heard, the French were a little scandalised at the subject of the 'Suppositi.' . . . The following day bull fights took place ; I was with the Lord M. Antonio, as I have written : three men were killed and five horses wounded, two are dead."

The writer goes to say that in the evening they had another comedy, but, because the player did not give satisfaction, the

Pope, instead of having the *Mauresque* danced, had the player tossed to the ceiling in a counterpane.

"He (the monk) is in bed and is not well.

"From Rome, this day, the 8th of March 1518, at the fourth hour of the night.

"From your very illustrious lordship's servant, Alphonso Pauluzi."

It seems that Pauluzzi was commissioned to worry Raphael about some picture that he had promised to paint for the Duke. Pauluzzi writes several times that he has spoken with Raphael about the picture, who promises to do all in his power to hurry its completion; but Pauluzzi never manages to see Raphael in his home, or to see the picture, and doubts whether it is even begun. Pauluzzi writes the Duke on 3rd September 1519 that it is impossible for him to get to see Raphael, and asks him to write to the painter. He finishes by saying:

"... In the meantime I will proceed as cleverly as I can to try to get admitted to Raphael; I am impatient to see the picture, which ought to be in hand. I am told that a picture for the most reverent Medici is finished, and that it is a very beautiful thing." (This was the "Transfiguration.")

Extract from the Duke's letter to Pauluzzi (Sep? 1519?).

"It does not beseem us to write to Raphael after what we know, but it is our wish that you tell him that you have our letters, which say that here for three years he has entertained us with words, and that this manner of behaving with persons like ourselves is not right, and that if he does not fulfil his promise, we shall act in such a way that he will regret having deceived us. And, further, as if coming from you, you can say to him that he had better take care not to excite our hatred, instead of keeping himself in affection which we bear him; and that if faith in the bargain is kept, he can count upon us, but if neglected he must await, one day, things which will be painful to him; all this to be said as between you and him alone."

Before this letter had reached Pauluzzi, he wrote again to the Duke:

“Returning this evening to the house of Raphael, and having found the door open, I entered, persuaded that I should be able to accomplish what I wish; and, having caused Raphael to be summoned, he sent me an answer to say that he could not come down. As I was preparing to go up, there came another servant who told me that he was in his room with Baldasare Castiglione and occupied in painting his portrait, and that I could not speak to him. I made a pretence of believing this, and I said that I would come back another time. As entrance to him is denied, it is to be concluded that the work is at the stage that I have already made known to you.”

The Duke's letter seems very hard, and Pauluzzi, who, living in Rome where the veneration felt for Raphael was without bounds, and in the continual presence of his marvellous works, felt a repugnance in carrying out the painful mission which his lord entrusted to him against the artist, who united in his person the most noble and the most exquisite qualities of heart and spirit, and who was a model of perfect courtesy and gentle bringing-up. Consequently, on the 17th of December he wrote the following:

“I found him this morning having made two supporting pillars which the Pope caused to be placed to sustain the first vault in the street of the Swiss, which was threatening ruin, and, having called him, he asked to wait till he had talked to several patrons, he would receive me the first time I went to see him. I shall have recourse to all means to get hold of him, making him understand what happened to me at his house the other day, and if he always persists in giving fair words without deeds, I shall tell him what your most excellent lordship wrote to me, and I will inform him of all things.”

The next letter is dated January 20, 1520, from the Duke to Pauluzzi.

“Granted that you find Raphael of Urbino, you will ask him what has become of the work which he ought to have done for us, and if you receive no more than in the past, say to him as coming from yourself, that he is to consider the importance of having given his word to a person of our consequence, and of having shown such slight respect for ourselves that he thus places us on the level of a common person, by his repeated prevarications, add that you are in no doubt that in the end I shall become angry. Make yourself acquainted with his answer. Speak at once to the most

reverent Cardinal Cibo, and recommend us to His Holiness, reminding him of the promise he made to us to so act that Raphael may finish our picture promptly. We pray His Holiness to be good enough to insist that Raphael makes no further delay; and if not that he tells us positively whether we can count upon this work, so that we may have it done by another, in order that our cabinet which is now imperfect may be completed."

To this the ambassadeur replied that he was constant in reminding the painter of his duty whenever he met him,

"But that he always excused himself on account of the picture for the Medici ('The Transfiguration'), a picture which, according to the brother of Dossi, will be finished by this Carnival, and then at once he will begin the one for your Lordship. Nevertheless, I will carry out my mission, and I will speak of it to the most reverent Monsignor Cibo."

Finally, Pauluzzi announces, on the 21st of March, that he had been received by Raphael, and these are his own words:

"I spoke to Raphael who, as always, was at the service of your Excellency, which I believe all the more from his having at last admitted me to see the pictures on which he is working, and which are really very beautiful. He entirely wishes to serve your Lordship and serve you well, and, to prove it, he is writing a letter asking Dossi to excuse him to your Excellency when he has the occasion to see you. I will manage to remind him often, and as opportunity arises I will arrange to go to his house to find out if he is beginning the painting for your Excellency; and I will insist by all the means which are in my power."

The editor of these letters remarks—"Vain hopes! useless projects! unfruitful rage and menace! The displeasure of the Duke of Ferrara stopped before a tomb, only leaving after three centuries, the undignified memory of his hardness towards a man who raised himself so high above his fellows."

CATALOGUE OF THE WORKS OF
RAPHAEL
ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE GALLERIES
IN WHICH THEY ARE
CONTAINED

NOTE.—*The numbers directly following the name of the picture are those of the Gallery Catalogues. In the descriptions the spectator's right and left are meant.*

CATALOGUE OF WORKS.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

PESTH, ESTERHAZY GALLERY.

MADONNA ESTERHAZY. 10 in. × 8 in.

The Virgin kneels in the centre, holding the Child, who sits on a rock on the right. The infant St. John kneels on the left. Supposed to have been painted between 1508-1513. Given by Clement XI. to Elizabeth of Austria, who gave it to Kaunitz, from whom it passed to the Esterhazy family.

VIENNA, BELVEDERE.

MADONNA IN THE MEADOW (360). 3 ft. 8 in. × 2 ft. 10 in.

The Virgin seated. Landscape background. The Virgin supports the Infant Saviour, who stands before her. The infant St. John kneels on the left. The two children holding a reed cross. Painted in Florence for Taddeo Taddei, sold by his descendants to the Archduke Ferdinand Charles of Austria, and passed into the Imperial collection in 1773. Well preserved. Dated 1506.

BRITISH ISLES.

THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

MADONNA ANSIDEI (1171). 9 ft. × 5 ft.

The Virgin and Child are enthroned under an arch through which the sky and a landscape is seen on each side of the throne. On the right St. Nicholas of Bari, on the left St. John the Baptist. Painted for the Church of San Fiorenzo, in Perugia, where it remained till 1764, when it was bought by the Duke of Marlborough. It was sold by his successor to the nation in 1885. On the Virgin's mantle is the date 1506. Panel.

MADONNA ALDOBRANDINI (744). 1 ft. 3 in. × 1 ft. 1 in.

The Virgin sitting with the Child on her lap in a room. The Child holds out a pink to the little St. John. On either side a landscape is seen through an arch. Painted in Rome between 1508 and 1513. From the Aldobrandini and Garvagh collections. Panel.

ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA (168). 2 ft. 5 in. × 1 ft. 10 in.

The saint stands, seen to the knees, resting on the wheel. Landscape background. Painted about 1508. Panel.

THE VISION OF A KNIGHT (213). 7 in. square.

The knight asleep on the ground lies between two standing figures of women. One gaily dressed, on the right, offers him a flower, the other in sober-hued clothes holds out a sword and a book. Painted about 1503. Panel.

SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

SEVEN CARTOONS FOR TAPESTRY. "The Miraculous Draught of Fishes," "Paul Preaching at Athens," "Christ's Charge to Peter," "St. Peter and St. John healing the Lame Man," "The Death of Ananias," "Elymas struck Blind," "The Sacrifice at Lystra."
- Painted in tempera on paper in 1515-1516.

DULWICH GALLERY.

ST. ANTHONY. ST. FRANCIS (306) (307). 9 in. × 6 in.

These two were part of the predella of the St. Antonio Madonna.

BARONESS BURDETT COUTTS, LONDON.

THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN. 9 in. × 11 in.

The Saviour kneeling, the three Apostles asleep. Predella of St. Antonio Madonna. Panel.

SIR W. MILES, LEIGH COURT, BRISTOL (formerly).

THE ROAD TO GOLGOTHA. 9 in. × 2 ft. 9 in.

A long procession headed by two riders in Oriental costume. Predella of St. Antonio Madonna. Panel.

EARL COWPER, PANSHANGER.

THE MADONNA OF 1505. 2 ft. × 1 ft. 5 in.

The Child standing on the Virgin's lap with His arm round her neck. The faces are both very beautiful. Panel.

THE MADONNA OF 1508. 2 ft. 3 in. × 1 ft. 6 in.

The Child is sitting on a pillow placed on the Virgin's knee, and holds her bodice with one hand. On the Virgin's dress is written "MDVIII R.U. Pin."

COLLECTION OF MR DAWSON.

PIETA. 9 in. × 11 in.

The dead Christ with Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea. One of the five pictures forming the predella of the Madonna di St. Antonio painted in 1507-8. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i. p. 238. Panel.

EARL OF DUDLEY.

THE THREE GRACES. 7 in. × 5 in.

This little picture from the Borghese collection was inspired by the antique group at Siena. Painted about 1506. Panel.

EARL OF ELLESMERE, BRIDGEWATER HOUSE.

MADONNA WITH THE PALM. 3 ft. 4 in. in diameter.

The Virgin, sitting on the right, rests the Child on her knee, holding him with a scarf. The Child takes flowers from the hand of the kneeling Joseph. This is supposed to be one of the pictures painted in 1506 for Taddeo Taddei. Its history cannot be traced farther back than 1680, when it was in Paris. Panel, transferred to canvas.

BRIDGEWATER MADONNA. 2 ft. 8 in. × 1 ft. 10 in.

The Virgin seen to below the knees, the Child lying across her lap. The authenticity has been doubted. From the Orleans Collection. Panel, transferred to canvas.

MADONNA DEL PASSEGGIO. 2 ft. 9 in. × 1 ft. 11 in.

Supposed to have been painted by Penni from a sketch by Raphael. The Virgin is standing in a landscape; the Child also standing rests against her knee and greets the infant St. John. In the distance is the figure of St. Joseph.

MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE, BOWOOD.

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST PREACHING. 1 ft. 8 in. × 10 in.

St. John preaching to a crowd of people in a landscape. This formed part of the predella of the Ansidei Madonna. Panel.

MISS MACKINTOSH, 7 QUEEN'S GATE PLACE,
LONDON.

MADONNA DELLA TORRE. 2 ft. 5 in. × 1 ft. 4 in.

The Virgin holding the Child on her lap holding His foot. From the Orleans and Rogers Collections. Crowe and Cavalcaselle consider this work dates from the early Roman period. Károly says it is in a private house in London. Panel, transferred to canvas.

LUDWIG MOND, Esq., 20 AVENUE ROAD, LONDON,
N.W.

THE CRUCIFIXION. 8 ft. 6 in. × 5 ft. 5 in.

Two angels, one on either side of the Cross, and four figures below, the Virgin, St. Jerome, St. John, and Mary Magdalene. This was the first picture signed by Raphael. At the foot of the Cross is written RAPHAEL

VRBIN

AS

P

Painted about 1500. From the Collections of Cardinal Fesch and Lord Dudley.

MARLBOROUGH GALLERY, MR MARTIN COLNAGHI.

MADONNA DI SANT' ANTONIO. 5 ft. 10 in. square.

The Virgin and Child enthroned, with the little St. John surrounded by four saints. Above, in a lunette, the Almighty with two angels. Painted about 1507 for the nuns of St. Antonio of Padua, and sold by them in 1677 to a nobleman of Perugia. It passed to the Royal Family of Naples. In 1886 it was lent to the South Kensington Museum by the Duke of Castro. It was bought by Mr Martin Colnaghi in 1895. It is believed now to be in America. The picture is much darkened, and said to have been badly restored in Paris. Panel.

DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, ALNWICK.

THE MAGDALEN AND ST. CATHERINE.

Two panels which Crowe and Cavalcaselle think assignable to Raphael's earliest period in Perugia's workshop.

SIR CHARLES ROBINSON.

MADONNA DE' CANDELABRI. 2 ft. in diameter.

Supposed to have been painted in 1515. It was brought from Italy about 1830. The Virgin holds the Child on her knee. Two heads of angels are seen at the sides; these angels hold up lighted torches.

FRANCE.

CHANTILLY.

THE MADONNA OF ORLEANS. 11 in. × 14 in.

The Virgin, seated in a room, holds the Child on her knee, her right hand holding the Child's foot. Behind the Virgin's head is a shelf, on which are pots and bottles. The picture was in the Orleans Collection, and, after changing hands several times, was bought by M. Delessert, at whose sale it was bought by the Duc d'Aumale. Panel.

LOUVRE.

LA BELLE JARDINIÈRE (362). 4 ft. × 2 ft. 7 in.

The Virgin, sitting in a landscape, holds the Child, who, standing on the ground, rests against her. The little St. John kneels on the right. Signed "Raphaello Urb: MDVII." A very fine drawing of the Child is in the Oxford University Gallery. This is supposed to be the picture which Vasari says was left to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio to finish a drapery when Raphael went to Rome. The picture was bought from Filippo Segardi for Francis I. Panel arched at the top.

LA VIERGE AU DIADÈME (363). 2 ft. 3 in. × 1 ft. 5 in.

The Virgin kneeling on the ground, with one hand holding the little St. John, lifts with the other the veil from off the sleeping Child. In the background are ruins, owing, no doubt, to the picture being painted in Rome between 1508 and 1513. This picture was in Paris as early as 1620. It belonged later to Louis XV. Panel.

MADONNA OF FRANCIS I. (364). 6 ft. 5 in. × 4 ft. 3 in.

The Child springing from a cradle on the left to the Virgin who is kneeling. The little St. John with clasped hands is held by St. Elizabeth. St. Joseph is behind resting his head on his hand. Two angels, one with outstretched arms, scatter flowers. Giulio Romano is supposed to have had a share in the execution. Given to Francis I. in 1518 by Leo X. Panel transferred to canvas.

THE SMALL MADONNA (365). 1 ft. 3 in. × 11 in.

The Child, standing up in His cradle, leans across His mother's knees and caresses the little St. John. St. Elizabeth kneeling. Late Roman period. Passavant thinks it may have been painted from a design of Raphael's by G. Romano. Panel.

ST. MARGARET (367). 6 ft. × 4 ft. 2 in.

The saint holds a palm; at her feet lies the dragon. Probably executed by G. Romano. Sent by Raphael to Francis I. A replica exists at Vienna also executed by G. Romano. Panel transferred to canvas.

SAINT MICHEL (368). 1 ft. \times 10 in.

The saint stands over the demon with sword and shield; behind is a walled town with flames and smoke. This and the next picture were painted for Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino in 1504. From the collections of Cardinal Mazarin and Louis XIV. Panel.

ST. GEORGE (369). 1 ft. 1 in. \times 10 in.

The saint on a white horse, with a drawn sword. (See above for history of the picture.) Panel.

THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL TRAMPLING ON THE DEVIL (370).

8 ft. 9 in. \times 5 ft. 3 in.

The archangel sweeping down on the fiend and about to transfix him with a lance. Given by Leo X. to Francis I. in 1518. Probably painted by Giulio Romano from a design by Raphael.

PORTRAIT OF JOANNA OF ARAGON (373). 3 ft. 11 in. \times 3 ft. 1 in.

She is seated in a chair, and seen to the knees. The background is architectural, with a small piece of sky, and distance seen under a colonnade. The colour of the red velvet dress and headdress is rich and harmonious. Painted at the instance of Cardinal Bibiena in 1518-1519, who gave it to Francis I.

APOLLO AND MARSYAS (1509).

This picture was bought from Mr Morris Moore. It came from England; and the initials J. B. on the back are supposed to mean that it belonged to Joseph Barnard, whose collection was dispersed in 1770. Apollo is standing up on the right looking down on Marsyas, who is sitting playing his pipe. At Venice there is a drawing of the same subject: in it the figure of Apollo is of great beauty and far finer than in the picture. Opinions differ as to the authenticity of the work. If it be by Raphael it must have been painted about 1506. Panel.

PORTRAIT OF BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE (371). 1 ft. 8 in.
× 2 ft. 1 in.

This magnificent work was painted in 1516. Black cap and vest with grey sleeves. From the Mazarin collection. Panel, transferred to canvas.

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN (372). 1 ft. 11 in. × 1 ft. 5 in.

Bust, turned three-quarters to the right. Fair hair and black cap. From the collection of Louis XIV. Painted between 1515 and 1520. Panel.

GERMANY.

BERLIN, MUSEUM.

HOLY FAMILY WITH ST. JEROME AND ST. FRANCIS (145).
1 ft. 3 in. × 11 in.

The Child sitting on the Virgin's lap, who is seen only to the knees. St. Francis on the right. Painted between 1500 and 1504. From the Borghese Collection in Rome. Bought by the King of Prussia in 1829.

MADONNA SOLLY (141). 1 ft. 9 in. × 1 ft. 3 in. Panel.

The Virgin seen to the knees, holding a book, the Child, sitting on her lap, has a thistle finch. Acquired with the Solly collection in 1821.

MADONNA DIOTALEVI (147). 2 ft. × 1 ft. 8 in. Hand injured.

The Virgin seen to the knees, the Child in the attitude of benediction, the Virgin's hand resting on the infant St. John. Bought from the Marquis Diotalevi at Rimini in 1842. The authenticity has been doubted, possibly it is by Perugino.

MADONNA DI TERRANUOVA (247A). 2 ft. 10 in. in diameter.

The Virgin seated, seen to below the knees; the Child on her lap gives a scroll to St. John. A third child on the right. Rocky landscape. Painted in Florence between 1504-5. Bought from the Duke of Terranuova in 1854. Circular panel.

MADONNA COLONNA (248). 2 ft. 6 in. \times 1 ft. 10 in.

The Virgin seen to the knees, seated, holding a book. The Child holds the Virgin's dress with outstretched hand and arm. Doubtful. Panel.

CHRIST SEATED UPON A SARCOPHAGUS (135). ST. LOUIS AND ST. HERCULANUS (144). 6 in. in diameter.

Three small pictures, supposed to have formed part of a predella, but of what picture is unknown. Doubtful.

DRESDEN, PICTURE GALLERY.

MADONNA DI SAN SISTO (80). 9 ft. 3 in. \times 7 ft.

The Virgin standing on clouds with the Child in her arms, with Pope Sixtus on the left and St. Barbara on the right. The last Madonna painted by Raphael, and entirely by his own hand. Bought in 1753 from the monks of San Sisto by Augustus III. of Saxony. Plundered by Napoleon, and restored by the allies. The only easel picture painted on canvas by Raphael.

MUNICH, OLD PINAKOTHEK.

MADONNA DI CASA TEMPI (1206). 2 ft. 4 in. \times 1 ft. 7 in.

The Virgin standing, seen to just above the knees. She holds the Child, their faces touching. Early Florentine period about 1506. Much injured. Panel.

MADONNA CANIGIANI (534). 4 ft. \times 3 ft. 3 in.

The Virgin is seated on the ground on the right and turning towards an older woman also seated. The Child and the infant St. John rest against these two figures, while Joseph holding a staff stands behind, his head forming the apex of a pyramid. Painted in Florence about 1506. Given by the Medici to an Elector of Düsseldorf. Panel.

MADONNA DELLA TENDA (547). 2 ft. 3 in. \times 1 ft. 10 in.

A doubtful picture, but probably designed by Raphael. The Virgin, seen to above the knees, holds the Child in her arms. The head of the infant St. John is seen against the sky. A curtain (hence the name della Tenda) covers most of the background. Panel.

A YOUNG MAN OF THE FAMILY OF RICCIO (1053). 1 ft. 9 in. \times 1 ft. 4 in.

Bust of a youth with a black cap. Landscape with animals in the background. Early panel.

PORTRAIT OF BINDO ALTOVITI (1052). 1 ft. 11 in. \times 1 ft. 5 in.

A young man with fair hair wearing a black cap. This work remained till 1808 in the Altoviti family, when it came to Munich. Panel.

ITALY.

BERGAMO, LOCHIS COLLECTION.

ST. SEBASTIAN. 1 ft. 5 in. \times 1 ft. 1 in.

The saint seen full-face and half-length. An early work. Panel.

BOLOGNA, PINACOTECA.

ST. CECILIA. 7 ft. 8 in. \times 4 ft. 9 in.

The saint stands in the centre of a group consisting of St. Paul and St. John (on the left), St. Mary Magdalene and St. Augustine (on the right). St. Cecilia holds a broken organ, and is looking up to the sky where is seen a choir of angels. The musical instruments on the ground were painted by G. da Udine. Painted about 1517 for the Church of San Giovanni in Monte, near Bologna. Part of the Napoleonic plunder, restored after Waterloo. Panel, transferred to canvas.

BRESCIA, TOSI GALLERY.

PEACE BE WITH YOU. 12 in. \times 9 in.

Half-length figure of the Saviour with the hand raised in benediction. About 1505. From the Mosca family at Pesaro. Panel.

FLORENCE, PITTI PALACE.

MADONNA DELLA SEGGIOLA (151). 2 ft. 5 in. in diameter.

The Virgin holds the Child on her knee. The little St. John with clasped hands. Painted between 1510 and 1514 with Raphael's own hand throughout. Panel.

MADONNA DEL GRAN' DUCA (178). 2 ft. 3 in. \times 1 ft. 9 in.

Called also the "M. del Viaggio" (of the journey), from the Grand Duke Ferdinand III. carrying it about with him. Painted in Florence in 1504. It belonged at one time to Carlo Dolci, and passed into the Grand Duke of Tuscany's collection at the end of the last century. Panel.

MADONNA DEL BALDACCHINO (165). 10 ft. \times 6 ft.

The Virgin and Child enthroned under a canopy, the curtains of which are held up by two flying angels. There are two saints on each side of the throne and two little angels in front. Left in Florence when Raphael went to Rome in 1508. About 1700, according to Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Cassana enlarged the top of the picture. They say: "The apex of the cone of the dais and all above that is new." This work shows the influence of Fra Bartolomeo. The likeness of the flying angel on the right to a similar figure in the "Sibylls" has caused some critics to think that it was added by a later hand. Panel.

MADONNA DELL' IMPANNATA (94). 5 ft. 1 in. \times 4 ft. 1 in.

The Virgin and Child with St. Elizabeth, Mary Magdalene, and St. John, who is about ten years old. A window in the corner covered with linen "impannata" gives the picture its name. The picture was painted about 1513 for Bindo Altoviti. The critics amuse themselves with assigning different parts to different scholars of the master. In this case, as in most others, there are no facts, but only conjectures to go upon. Panel.

PORTRAIT OF LEO X. WITH TWO CARDINALS (40). 5 ft. 1 in. \times 3 ft. 11 in.

The Pope sits at a table in the middle, with Giulio de' Medici on the left and Luigi de' Rossi on the right. These three highly unpleasant faces are painted with consummate power. This picture was painted about 1518, and was part of the restored Napoleonic plunder. Panel.

PORTRAIT OF ANGELO DONI (59). 2 ft. x 1 ft. 5 in.

This was painted about 1505, together with the next work mentioned. These two pictures were bought from the descendants of Angelo Doni by the Grand Duke of Tuscany about 1823. Panel.

PORTRAIT OF MADDELENA DONI (61). 2 ft. x 1 ft. 5 in.

The history is the same as that of the above. These two are among Raphael's earliest portraits. Maddelena is rather wooden, but Angelo is full of character. Panel.

PORTRAIT OF JULIUS II. (79). 3 ft. 3 in. x 2 ft. 8 in.

Julius seated in a chair with his head bent forward. He holds a handkerchief in one hand. Experts sometimes pronounce this to be authentic and sometimes a Venetian copy, and are equally certain by turn as to the spuriousness or authenticity of the example in the Uffizi; apparently without bringing their science into discredit. The cartoon which was the foundation of these portraits is in the Corsini Palace at Florence. Many repetitions of the portrait exist; one in the National Gallery. Panel.

PORTRAIT OF FEDRA INGHIRAMI (171). 3 ft. 2 in. x 2 ft. 4 in.

The picture shows the Secretary to the Papal conclave which elected Leo X. sitting with his writing materials and looking up. Panel.

PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL BIBIENA (158). 2 ft. 10 in. x 2 ft. 2 in.

This picture is generally supposed to be the one which Raphael painted of his friend. It is half-length, showing both hands. The original is said to have been painted on wood. This example is on canvas, but it may have been transferred. Passavant thinks this a copy of the portrait at Madrid, but is mistaken, this last being of a different person. The picture in the Pitti was formerly in the house of the Dovizi at Bibiena.

LA DONNA VELATA (245). 2 ft. 9 in. \times 1 ft. 11 in.

This beautiful woman with a veil over her head (giving the picture its name) is supposed to be the portrait of the "Inamorata" of Raphael. There is a certain resemblance in the face to that of the M. di San Sisto. The authenticity of the work has been disputed. Probably painted in 1518.

THE VISION OF EZEKIEL (174). 1 ft. 7 in. \times 1 ft. 2 in.

The Almighty with three angels upon an eagle-winged lion and bull. Wonderful for its breadth of execution. Painted about 1510. Panel.

FLORENCE, UFFIZI GALLERY.

MADONNA DEL CARDELLINO (1129). 3 ft. 1 in. \times 2 ft. 5 in.

The Virgin sitting, in a landscape. The Child is stroking a goldfinch which the infant St. John holds. The picture was painted about 1506 for Lorenzo Nasi. In 1548, owing to a collapse of the house it was in, the panel was much damaged, but was skilfully mended. Panel.

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST (1127). 5 ft. 9 in. \times 5 ft. 2 in.

The Baptist is represented as a youth of sixteen, with strong contrasts of light and shade. It is usual to ascribe the execution to G. Romano. Painted between 1513 and 1520. Canvas.

PORTRAIT OF A LADY. 2 ft. 4 in. \times 1 ft. 5 in.

This picture in the Tribune of the gallery represents a lady, not the so-called Fornarina, nearly full-face. The picture includes the hands. Painted between 1504 and 1510.

PORTRAIT OF JULIUS II. (1131). 3 ft. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times 2 ft. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

The picture disputes with the one in the Pitti the claim to being the original. Panel.

PORTRAIT OF THE PAINTER (288). 1 ft. 6 in. \times 1 ft. 1 in.

Painted about 1506. Black cap and doublet.

MILAN, BRERA GALLERY.

LO SPOTALIZIO (270). 1 ft. 6 in. × 3 ft. 9 in.

This high priest in the centre weds Joseph and Mary. The unsuccessful suitors behind Joseph break their wands. Behind Mary stand a train of maidens. In the background is a building on which is written RAPHAEL VRBINAS MDIIII. Painted for St. Francesco at Città di Castello, where it remained till it was stolen by General Lecchi, in command of the French army in 1798. He sold it to a citizen of Milan; later it was bought by the State. Panel.

NAPLES, MUSEUM.

MADONNA DEL DIVINO AMORE (22). 1 ft. 11 in. × 1 ft. 7 in.

The Virgin and St. Elizabeth sitting on the ground. The Child, sitting on the Virgin's knee, looks towards the infant St. John, who kneels on the left. Joseph behind. Architectural background. Painted about 1513 for Carpi. Passed through the Farnese family to the royal collection at Naples. Crowe and Cavalcaselle consider the execution to be by G. Romano. Panel.

PERUGIA, SAN SEVERO.

THE TRINITY.

Above is represented the Trinity, below four angels and three Camaldoli monks on clouds. This was Raphael's first fresco, and was painted in 1505. The work was incomplete when Raphael went to Rome. Six saints were added by Perugino after the death of Raphael. Fresco.

PERUGIA, PICTURE GALLERY.

LUNETTE, THE ALMIGHTY (20).

This formed the top of the altar-piece of the Entombment now in the Borghese gallery. The angels supposed to have been added later (1507). Panel.

ROME, SAN AGOSTINO.

ISAIAH. 8 ft. 6 in. × 5 ft. 4 in.

The prophet seated with two children. Painted not later than 1512. Fresco on a pillar.

ROME, BORGHESE COLLECTION.

THE ENTOMBMENT (369). 6 ft. x 6 ft.

Painted in 1507 for Atalanta Baglioni, and placed by her in San Francesco, Perugia, after the death of her son, who was killed in one of the Baglioni family massacres. This altar-piece was sold in 1607 to Paul V., who had it taken to the Borghese Palace. A great number of drawings for this composition are to be found in European collections. Panel.

ROME, VILLA FARNESINA.

GALATEA.

Galatea borne in her shell, drawn by dolphins, over the sea, surrounded by nymphs. Painted about 1514. Fresco.

THE STORY OF CUPID AND PSYCHE.

The hall of the Villa was painted by the pupils from the designs of the master. There are ten pendentives, fourteen lunettes, and two large pictures on the ceiling. Only one figure, one of the graces with her back turned, is from the hand of Raphael. Fresco.

ROME, SANTA MARIA DELLA PACE

PROPHETS AND SIBYLLS.

Painted for Agostino Chigi. The prophets Daniel, David, Jonah, and Hosea, were painted by Timoteo Viti from drawings by Raphael. The Sibylls beneath were entirely by Raphael, and rank among his finest works. Beginning on the left the Sibylls are, the Cumæan, Persian, Phrygian, and Tiburtine; they are attended by genii and angels. Fresco.

THE VIOLIN PLAYER (formerly in the Sciarra Palace).

A young man holding a violin bow. Said by Morelli to be by Seb. del Piombo. For several years past the picture has not been shown to the public, and it is supposed to have been sold and to have left Italy.

RÔME, THE VATICAN, THE STANZE.

CAMERA DELLA SEGNATURA.

On the roof four circular panels, "Poetry," "Theology," "Philosophy," "Justice"; on the pendentives, "Apollo and Marsyas," "Adam and Eve," "Astronomy," "The Judgment of Solomon"; on the walls, the "Parnassus," "Disputa," "School of Athens," and "Jurisprudence," in the lunette, with "Justinian delivering the Institutes," and "Gregory giving the Decretals," underneath. Under the "Parnassus," in grisaille, "Alexander depositing the works of Homer in the tomb of Achilles," "Augustus preventing the burning of the MSS. of the Æneid." In the embrasures of the windows, "The Judgment of Selencus," "Christ and His Apostles"; on the dado, "The Sibyll of Tibur," "Solon teaching the Greeks," "The Siege of Syracuse," "The Death of Archimedes," "A Pagan Sacrifice," "Eastern Magicians." These last much repainted. This room was painted between 1508 and 1511. Fresco.

CAMERA D' ELIODORO.

On the roof, "God appearing to Noah," "Abraham's Sacrifice," "Jacob's Dream," "Moses and the Burning Bush"; on the walls, "Heliodorus driven out of the Temple," "The Miracle of Bolsena," "Peter loosed from Prison," "Attila driven back." Below, eleven allegorical figures and four caryatides. The embrasures of the windows in grisaille. This room was painted between 1511 and 1514. Fresco.

CAMERA DELL' INCENDIO.

On the walls, "The fire in the Borgo," "The Coronation of Charlemagne," "The Oath of Leo III.," "The Battle of Ostia." Only the first of these was actually painted by Raphael. How far he worked at the design of the others is not known, drawings exist for single figures in them. Painted between 1514 and 1517. Fresco.

SALA DI CONSTANTINO.

This room was painted after Raphael's death by his scholars.

CARDINAL BIBIENA'S BATHROOM.

The Cardinal had apartments in the Vatican, and Raphael designed or suggested to his pupils classical subjects for its decoration. Passavant saw these in 1835, and describes them. After that date they were covered over with paneling and the bathroom turned into a chapel. Bembo, writing to Bibiena in 1516, says that Raphael is desirous of having the rest of the subjects for the bathroom.

THE LOGGIE.

The so-called Raphael's Bible consists of fifty-two frescoes in the cupolas, forty-eight subjects from the Old Testament, and four from the New, also a large amount of decorative patterns. Executed by Raphael's pupils, apparently from small sketches, and perhaps not always from these. Painted between 1513 and 1520. Fresco.

ROME, VATICAN PICTURE GALLERY.

THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN (Hall 4). 8 ft. 9 in. × 5 ft. 4 in.

The Virgin, in the sky surrounded by angels, is being crowned by Christ. Below, the Apostles stand round the tomb, which is filled with flowers. Painted for the Franciscan Church at Perugia, was taken from there to Paris, and sent to the Vatican in 1815. Painted between 1502 and 1503. Panel, transferred to canvas.

THE THREE PREDELLE for the above (Hall 2) are, "The Annunciation," "The Adoration of the Magi," "The Presentation in the Temple." Panel, transferred to canvas.

PREDELLA (Hall 2).

Belonging to the Borghese Entombment, Faith, Hope, and Charity. Three figures in grisaille. Stolen by the French, and restored in 1815.

MADONNA DI FOLIGNO (Hall 3). 10 ft. 6 in. × 6 ft. 4 in.

The Virgin with the Child seated in the clouds. Below, on the left, St. John the Baptist and St. Francis. On the right St. Jerome stands with his hand on the head of the

kneeling Sigismondo Conti, for whom the picture was painted. The picture first stood in the church of the Ara Coeli, in Rome, was taken from there to Foligno in 1565 at the request of Anna Conti, where it remained till carried off to Paris in 1797. It was returned to the Vatican in 1815. Painted in 1512. Panel, transferred to canvas.

THE TRANSFIGURATION (Hall 3). 13 ft. 4 in. × 9 ft. 3 in.

The last work of the master, left unfinished at his death in 1520. It was painted for the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who intended it for the Cathedral of Narbonne. It, however, remained in Rome till the French carried it off. It was restored after Waterloo. Panel.

RUSSIA.

ST. PETERSBURG, THE HERMITAGE.

MADONNA DI CASA D' ALBA (38). 3 ft. 1 in. in diameter.

Painted in Rome, entirely with his own hand between 1508 and 1511, while Raphael was working in the Camera della Segnatura. Bought in 1836, it came from the Duke of Alba at Madrid. The Virgin sitting on the ground starred with flowers, holding a book. The little St. John kneeling on the left looks up at the Child who is half standing and half sitting on the Virgin's knee. Panel transferred to canvas.

MADONNA CONNESTABILE (1667). 6 in. × 6 in.

The Virgin standing, seen to above the knees, holds the Child in her arms; her right hand holds an open book into which the Child is looking. Landscape background. Painted in 1504. The style is founded upon Perugino, the tiny panel and frame were in one piece. Bought in 1871 by the Empress of Russia from Count Connestabile at Perugia. Panel, transferred to canvas.

MADONNA ST. PETERSBURG (43). 2 ft. 4 in. × 1 ft. 10 in.

This picture is sometimes called the "Madonna with the beardless Joseph," owing to this peculiarity in the figure resting his hands on a staff. The Virgin seen to the knees

is sitting holding the Child. Architectural background, with sky and distance seen through an archway on the right. Its history cannot be traced beyond the 17th century. Painted at Florence in 1506. Panel, transferred to canvas.

ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON (39). 12 in. × 9 in.

This was the picture sent by the Duke of Urbino to Henry VII. in return for the Garter. The picture was taken by Baldassare Castiglione. Painted in 1506. The saint is armed with a lance, and on the chest band of the horse is RAPHAEL V. and on the garter of St. George, HONI. It was in the collection of Charles I. Panel.

SPAIN.

MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM.

LO SPASIMO DI SICILIA (366). 10 ft. 7 in. × 7 ft. 8 in.

So called because the picture was at one time in the church of Sta. Maria dello Spasimo at Palermo. The picture represents the way to Calvary. Christ sinks under the weight of the Cross; the Virgin Mary on the right. The composition contains a number of Roman soldiers. Painted about 1516. Wood, transferred to canvas.

THE VISITATION (368). 6 ft. 7 in. × 4 ft. 9 in.

St. Elizabeth advances to meet the Virgin Mary, whom she takes by the hand. This picture, in which Giulio Romano probably had a hand, was painted between 1517 and 1519. It was painted for G. B. Branconio, who gave it to the church of St. Silvestro, at Aquila, in the Abruzzi, from whence it passed to the Escorial. Panel, transferred to canvas.

MADONNA DEL LEGARDO (371). 4 ft. 9 in. × 3 ft. 7 in.

A Holy Family, with the little St. John under an oak tree. Crowe and Cavalcaselle say "not a single touch is visible that can be assigned to Raphael." Signed on the cradle, "Raphael Pinx." Painted between 1513-1520. Panel.

MADONNA DELLA PERLA (369). 4 ft. 9 in. × 3 ft. 9 in.

Said to be painted by G. Romano from a design by Raphael in 1519. It was in the collection of Charles I. Panel, transferred to canvas.

MADONNA DEL CORDERO (364). 11 in. × 8 in.

The Virgin kneeling in the centre supports the Child, who is sitting astride of a lamb on the left. St. Joseph rests on a staff on the right. It is not known how this work got to Spain. Signed and dated 1507. Said to be a very fine work. Panel.

MADONNA DEL PESCE (365). 6 ft. 7 in. × 5 ft. 2 in.

The Virgin and Child enthroned. St. Jerome with his lion on the right. On the left an angel introduces Tobit, who kneels holding the fish. Painted by Raphael between 1514 and 1515 with his own hand for the church of St. Domenico at Naples. There it remained till 1638, when the Spanish Viceroy, with the connivance of the General of the Dominican Order sent it to Spain. Panel, transferred to canvas.

MADONNA DELLA ROSA (370). 3 ft. 4 in. × 2 ft. 9 in.

Authorities differ as to whether Raphael had any share in the execution of this work. Painted about 1519. Panel, transferred to canvas.

It was lately reported (1899) that a new Raphael had been discovered at an Exhibition of Sacred Art, at Como, a "Massacre of the Innocents," belonging to Dr Biondi of Pavia. It is stated that on examination the signature Raph VRBI. MDX was found. It is not said if this picture has any resemblance to the authentic drawings of this subject, or to Marc Antonio's engraving.

Last year (1899) was exhibited at Mr. Agnew's gallery in Bond Street a portrait claiming to be by Raphael. The picture—a panel—represented a man somewhat like Angelo Doni, though a good deal older. The picture is stated to have recently come from Italy, and when there to have been attributed to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio. The execution suggests a Florentine rather than a Umbrian hand.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF WORKS

1500- 2	Madonna Solly	<i>Museum, Berlin,</i>
1500?	The Magdalen and St. Catherine (two panels)	<i>Alnwick, The Duke of Northumberland</i>
1500- 2	The Crucifixion	<i>Mr. L. Mond's Collection, London</i>
1500- 2	Coronation of St. Nicholas, for San Agostino	<i>Lost</i>
1503 about	Vision of a Knight	<i>National Gallery</i>
1502- 3	Coronation of the Virgin, with (three predella panels) The Annunciation, The Presentation, and The Adoration	<i>Vatican</i>
1500- 4	Madonna Diotalevi	<i>Museum, Berlin</i>
1500- 4?	Holy Family with St. Jerome and St. Francis	<i>Museum, Berlin</i>
1500- 4	St. Sebastian	<i>Lochis Collection, Bergamo</i>
1500- 4 *	Three small circular pictures; Christ seated upon a Sarcophagus, Saint Louis, and Saint Herculanus	<i>Museum, Berlin</i>
1503- 4	Madonna Connestabile or Staffa	<i>Hermitage, St. Petersburg</i>
1500- 4	The Resurrection	<i>Vatican</i>
1504	The Archangel Michael (Le petit)	<i>Louvre</i>
1504- 6	St. George with the Sword	<i>Louvre</i>
1504	Lo Sposalizio, for Città di Castello	<i>The Brera, Milan</i>
1504- 5	Madonna di Terranuova	<i>Museum, Berlin</i>
1504- 5	A Young Man of the Family of Riccio	<i>Old Pinakothek, Munich</i>
1504- 5	Madonna del Gran' Duca	<i>Pitti</i>
1505?	The Holy Trinity with Saints and Monks	<i>San Severo, Perugia, Fresco</i>
1505	Peace be with you (Pax Vobis)	<i>Tosi Gallery, Brescia</i>

1505	The small Cowper Madonna	<i>Lord Cowper's Collection, Panshanger</i>
1505- 6	Madonna del Cardellino	<i>Uffizi</i>
1505- 6	Madonna under the Palm-tree	<i>Bridgewater Gall.</i>
1505- 6	Portrait of Angelo Doni	<i>Pitti</i>
1505- 6	Portrait of Maddalena Strozzi-Doni	<i>Pitti</i>
1506 ?	Madonna della Casa Tempi	<i>Old Pinakothek, Munich</i>
1506	Adoration of the Shepherds	<i>Lost. Formerly at Bologna</i>
1506 ?	Madonna with beardless St. Joseph	<i>Hermitage, St. Petersburg</i>
1506	The Three Graces	<i>Earl Dudley's Collection</i>
1506	Portrait of Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino	<i>Lost</i>
1506	Apollo and Marsyas	<i>Louvre</i>
1506	St. George armed with a Lance	<i>Hermitage, St. Petersburg</i>
1506	Portrait of Raphael	<i>Uffizi</i>
1506 ?	Madonna d' Orleans	<i>Duc d'Aumale's Collection, Chantilly</i>
1506	St. John the Baptist Preaching. Predella	<i>Marquis of Lansdowne's Collection</i>
1506	Madonna Ansidei	<i>National Gallery</i>
1507	Madonna La Belle Jardinière	<i>Louvre</i>
1507	Madonna del Cordero	<i>Prado Museum, Madrid</i>
1507	St. Catherine of Alexandria	<i>National Gallery</i>
1507	The Entombment	<i>Borghese Palace Rome</i>
1507	Lunette for Entombment	<i>Picture Gallery, Perugia</i>
1507	Three Predella Panels for the Entombment	<i>Vatican</i>
1506	Madonna in the Meadow	<i>Belvedere, Vienna</i>
1506- 8	Madonna Canigiani	<i>Old Pinakothek, Munich</i>
1507- 8	Altar pictures for the Monastery of St. Anthony. Madonna with Saints (principal painting). The Eternal Father (the Tympanum).	<i>Sold to Martin Colnaghi 1895</i>

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|-----------|--|--|
| 1507- 8 | Christ on the Mount of Olives (on the predella) | <i>Lady B. Coutts</i> |
| 1507- 8 | Christ bearing His Cross (on the predella) | ? |
| 1507- 8 | The dead Christ (on the predella) | <i>Formerly belonging to Sir W. Miles of Leigh Court</i> |
| 1507- 8 | St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua | <i>Dulwich College</i> |
| 1507- 8 | The Pietà | <i>Mr Dawson, England</i> |
| 1508 | Madonna del Baldacchino | <i>Pitti</i> |
| 1508? | The Colonna Madonna | <i>Museum, Berlin</i> |
| 1508 | The Cowper Madonna | <i>Lord Cowper's Collection, Panshanger</i> |
| 1504-10 | Madonna, with Infant Jesus asleep | <i>Lost</i> |
| 1504-10 | Portrait of a Lady (unknown) | <i>Tribune of the Uffizi</i> |
| 1508-11 | Camera della Segnatura | <i>Vatican. Fresco</i> |
| 1509-10 | Portrait of Pope Julius II. | <i>Pitti</i> |
| 1511? | „ „ „ | <i>Uffizi</i> |
| 1510about | The Nativity, of the Canossa Family | <i>Lost</i> |
| 1510 „ | Vision of Ezekiel | <i>Pitti</i> |
| 1510-11 | The Annunciation, of the Grassy Family | <i>Lost</i> |
| 1511about | Madonna del Divino Amore | <i>Museum, Naples</i> |
| 1511 | Madonna, Bridgewater (La plus belle des Vièrges) | <i>Bridgewater Gallery</i> |
| 1509-12 | Madonna della Torre (Rogers), with Holy Child standing | <i>Miss Mackintosh, London</i> |
| 1511-12 | Madonna di Foligno | <i>Vatican</i> |
| 1512about | The Prophet Isaiah | <i>San Agostino, Rome. Fresco</i> |
| 1512 | Portrait of Bindo Altoviti | <i>Old Pinakothek, Munich</i> |
| 1513? | Madonna dell' Impannata | <i>Pitti</i> |
| 1508-13 | Madonna Esterhazy | <i>Esterhazy Gallery, Pesth</i> |
| 1508-13 | Madonna Aldobrandini (Garvagh) | <i>National Gallery</i> |
| 1508-13 | Madonna au Diadème | <i>Louvre</i> |
| 1508-13 | Madonna della Casa d'Alba | <i>Hermitage, St. Petersburg</i> |
| 1511-14 | Camera d' Eliodoro | <i>Vatican. Frescoes</i> |
| 1514-19 | The Sibylls and Prophets | <i>Santa Maria della Pace, Rome.</i> |

1514-19	Galatea	<i>Farnesina, Rome.</i> <i>Fresco</i>
1514-19	Frescoes in the Bathroom of Cardinal Bibiena	<i>Vatican</i>
1514-19	Madonna del Pesce	<i>Prado Gallery,</i> <i>Madrid</i>
1514-19	Portrait of Cardinal Bibiena	<i>Pitti</i>
1514?	Portrait of Fedra Inghirami	<i>Pitti</i>
1514about	Portrait of Giulio de' Medici	<i>Lost</i>
1509-15	Portrait of a Young Man	<i>Louvre</i>
1515	Madonna de' Candelabri	<i>Sir J. C. Robinson's Collection,</i> <i>London</i>
1515	Madonna del Passeggio	<i>Bridgewater Gal-</i> <i>lery</i>
1515about	Portrait of Antonio Tebaldeo	<i>Lost</i>
1515	„ Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione	<i>Louvre</i>
1516	„ Portraits of Andrea Navagero and Agostino Beazzano	<i>Lost</i>
1516	„ Saint Cecilia	<i>Pinacoteca, Bologna</i>
1516	„ Lo Spasimo di Sicilia (Christ bearing the Cross)	<i>Prado Museum,</i> <i>Madrid</i>
1516	„ Madonna della Sedia	<i>Pitti</i>
1515-16	The Cartoons for Tapestries. First Series, taken from the history of the Apostles	
	The Miraculous Draught of Fishes	<i>S. Kensington</i> <i>Museum</i>
	Christ's Charge to St. Peter	„ „
	St. Peter and St. John healing the lame man	„ „
	The Death of Ananias	„ „
	Elymas struck blind	„ „
	The Sacrifice of Lystra	„ „
	St. Paul preaching at Athens	„ „
	The Stoning of St. Stephen	<i>Lost</i>
	The Conversion of St. Paul	„
	St. Paul in Prison	„
1514-17	Camera dell' Incendio	<i>Vatican</i>
1518?	History of Cupid and Psyche	<i>Farnesina, Rome.</i> <i>Fresco</i>
1518	The Archangel Michael	<i>Louvre</i>
1518	La Grande Madonna (Madonna of Francis I.)	<i>Louvre</i>

1515-20	Portrait of a Young Man	<i>Louvre</i>
1518	Portrait of Joanna of Aragon	<i>Louvre</i>
1518	Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino	<i>Lost</i>
1518	A Player on the Violin (Andrea Marone?)	<i>Sciarra, Colonna Palace, Rome</i>
1518	La Donna Velata	<i>Pitti</i>
1517-19	The Visitation (For Branconia d'Aquila)	<i>Prado Museum, Madrid</i>
1517-19	Portrait of Leo X., with the Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Luigi de' Rossi	<i>Pitti</i>
1518-19	Madonna, La Petite (La Vièrge au Berce)	<i>Louvre</i>
1518-19	Madonna di San Sisto	<i>Picture Gallery, Dresden</i>
1519?	Madonna, La Perla	<i>Prado Gallery, Madrid</i>
1519?	Madonna della Rosa	<i>Prado Gallery, Madrid</i>
1513-20	Madonna del Legardo	<i>Prado Gallery, Madrid</i>
1513-20	Fifty-two Frescoes in the cupolas of the loggie. Forty-eight subjects from the Old Testament, and four from the New	<i>Vatican</i>
1513-20	Madonna della Tenda	<i>Old Pinakothek, Munich</i>
	Saint Margaret	<i>Louvre</i>
	Young St. John the Baptist	<i>Uffizi</i>
1520	The Transfiguration	<i>Vatican</i>



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